THE RETURN

AN INTERNATIONAL PALESTINIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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PEACE REMAINS ELUSIVE

As the Intifada Enters Its Third Year

A YEAR FROM THE *Declaration of Independence*
BY JEROME SEGAL

BEIT SAHOUR *"No Taxation Under Occupation"*
BY LESLEY ABUKHATER

PBS: *One-Sided Coverage*
BY VICKI KEMPER

PBS

November/December 1989 ❖ VOLUME 2 NUMBERS 3 & 4

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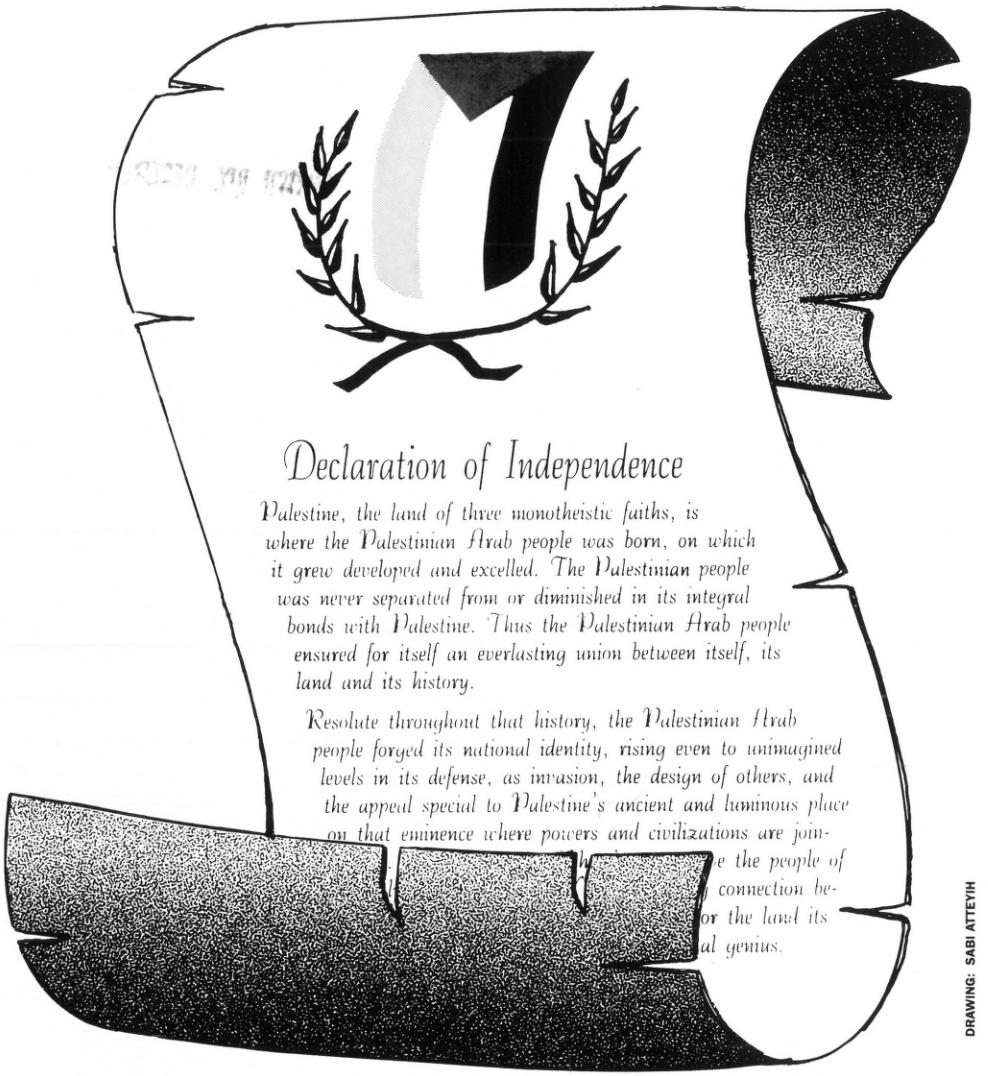
Declaration of Independence
Palestine, the land of three monotheistic faiths, is where the Palestinian Arab people was born, on which it grew developed and excelled. The Palestinian people was never separated from or diminished in its integral bonds with Palestine. Thus the Palestinian Arab people ensured for itself an everlasting union between itself, its land and its history.
Resolute throughout that history, the Palestinian Arab people forged its national identity, rising even to unimagined levels in its defense, as invasion, the design of others, and the appeal special to Palestine's ancient and luminous place on that eminence where powers and civilizations are join-
connection be-
or the land its
al genius.

DRAWING: SABI ATTEYIH

NOVEMBER 15, 1989:

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OF THE

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DECLARATION

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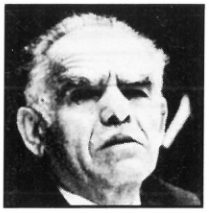

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COVER PHOTO:

Friday worshipers leaving the Dome of the Rock (the Omar Mosque) in Jerusalem.

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AS PEACE REMAINS ELUSIVE, *Palestinians Need to Reassess Their Strategy*

As the intifada enters its third year, peace remains elusive, and Israel and the United States are to blame. Thus, the Palestinians, whose objective is peace based on the two-state formula, have no option but to reassess their strategy.

The success, duration, and nature of the intifada, which erupted on December 9, 1987, have undeniably given the Palestinians much-needed confidence to launch a courageous and risky peace initiative. In November last year, the Palestine National Council (PNC), the highest authority within the PLO, for the first time, publicly accepted the idea of negotiating a Middle East peace settlement on the basis of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Also last December, during a trip to Geneva, Switzerland, to address the U.N. General Assembly, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat specifically indicated the PLO's willingness to recognize the State of Israel, denounced all forms of terrorism, and accepted U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for a Middle East settlement.

The euphoria that followed, including the U.S. decision to initiate a "substantive dialogue" with the PLO, was short-lived. Very little has been accomplished in the talks, and they exist to serve U.S. political maneuvers more than the cause of peace.

The United States is not willing to use a shred of its influence with Israel to press for a settlement. Instead, Israeli intransigence continues: Israel refuses to deal with the PLO, it refuses to withdraw from any part of the Palestinian territories it occupies, and it refuses to recognize the Palestinian right to self-determination.

Since March of this year, the parties to the conflict have been discussing Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's elections plan for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Although the Shamir elections proposal falls short of almost all Palestinian demands, it seems that Shamir regrets having ever made it. He puts forth one obstacle after the other to see that his elections proposal never takes a step toward being implemented.

It is safe to conclude that neither the United States nor Israel is serious about peace in the Middle East.

Given U.S. and Israeli indifference while, every day, Israeli occupation authorities are wounding, maiming, and killing Palestinians, and while the occupation authorities continue to confiscate or destroy Palestinian homes and property, the Palestinian people has no choice but to reassess its strategy for attaining peace. Such a reassessment should be all encompassing, and should include the Palestinian, Arab, and international dimensions of the conflict.

To win a broad mandate for his peace efforts, Palestinian President Yasser Arafat asked all factions within the PLO to give his approach a chance, at least for a limited time. They agreed. Now is the time for the

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PLO to sit down again to explore other options. Perhaps a "carrot-and-stick" approach should be adopted. In order to be credible and taken more seriously, Palestinians need to match their peace efforts with a military buildup, both defensive and offensive.

As far as the occupation and the resulting intifada are concerned, it is the Palestinians who have won *morally.* But there is a limit to which Palestinians should expose themselves, without protection, to the bullets of the brutal Israeli army. Unless Israel is made to pay a heavy price for its occupation, it will never leave the Palestinian territories it occupies.

On the inter-Arab level, thus far, the Palestinians have worked closely with the Egyptians. As well-meaning as the Egyptians are, they continue to misread Israel's true intentions. When Egypt made peace with Israel, the latter wanted to neutralize the largest Arab army, and, therefore, eliminate the threat it posed. Israel does not feel militarily threatened by the Palestinians and wants nothing from them except their land, which it already occupies.

To build a stronger Arab alliance against Israel, the Palestinians should mend fences with Syria, the most serious Arab military threat to Israel. If Egypt could be convinced to act more firmly with Israel, that too might prove crucial in future Israeli decisionmaking. Now that it seems that the Arab countries are making some progress, although limited, in solving the Lebanese problem, similar efforts should be made to coordinate a more credible Arab response to Israel.

Internationally, Western Europe can play a more active role. It is close to the Middle East, has had long historical ties with it, and is a major market for Israeli products. Pressure on the United States, and in turn Israel, can be applied through Western Europe.

At the superpower level, the United States is a strategic ally of Israel. Palestinians, however, do not have a comparable relationship with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and its European allies will most likely be busy with internal affairs for the foreseeable future. Thus, Palestinians should depend little on these countries for anything but, perhaps, moral support.

The U.S.-PLO dialogue has been disappointing, but that is no reason to call for its termination. The PLO should refuse to remain on the defensive. It should take more control in setting the agenda of the meetings, and make it clear to the United States that continuing to conduct the dialogue as it has been conducted is not doing the Palestinians any favors. The Palestinians are key to political developments in the Middle East, and for that, if nothing else, the dialogue is useful to the United States.

Also, Palestinians should realize that the United States is not their friend. In the Arab-Israeli conflict, the United States is totally subservient to Israel's wishes, making it a party to the conflict. Hence, the United States cannot mediate between Palestinians and Israelis.

All in all, Palestinians are faced with crucial decisions. The current Palestinian strategy is not leading to a peaceful two-state solution. A change in strategy is imperative—and the sooner the better. The intifada cannot last forever. ❖

THANK YOU AND GOOD LUCK

Michael Hindi, who has been serving as assistant editor of The Return, *is leaving. Michael plans to travel and study in the Middle East. He has worked tirelessly and with diligence for* The Return. *His efforts are appreciated and he will be missed. Good luck, Michael!*

❖

RAYMONDA HAWA TAWIL

THE WAR OF "THE POINTS"

The war of the points all started in March of this year after the United States prodded Israel to finally produce a "peace plan."

The objective of the plan was not so much to pave the way for peace between Palestinians and Israelis, but more to buy time for Israel, put the PLO on the defensive, and in the meantime, pray that the intifada goes away. The plan was put forth as an elections proposal to allow Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to elect their own representatives. These representatives would then negotiate with Israel—not about Palestinian self-determination, not about Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza, and not about the fate of the three million Palestinian exiles. Shamir wanted to talk with Palestinians about a local administration for the West Bank and Gaza with Israel as the supreme power and occupier.

Washington was excited about what became known as the Shamir elections proposal. Washington felt triumphant that it was able to convince the hard-line prime minister of Israel to switch from his earlier opposition to the idea of elections.

Washington's euphoria did not last long. On July 5, bowing to pressure from political rivals in his own Likud party, Shamir agreed to the first set of points. Shamir agreed to the now infamous "Likud four points." These Likud four points stated that 1) East Jerusalem Palestinians could not run for office or vote in the elections, 2) the intifada had to end before elections could be held, 3) Jewish settlements would continue to be established in the West Bank and Gaza, and 4) Israel would not give up claim to any territory and no Palestinian state would ever be established.

That spelled a sure death for Shamir's elections proposal, or at least, it should have. But the United States used every imaginable excuse to convince the Palestinians, and other Arabs, that Shamir's proposal was still valid.

Egypt, wanting to play the role of the mediator and Palestinian big brother, jumped in with its 10-point proposal. "The Egyptian 10 points," as

they became known, were both conditions for accepting Shamir's elections proposal and, in the view of some, an attempt to convince the Palestinians to go along with Shamir's elections proposal.

For most of August and September, the Egyptian 10 points were the focus of diplomatic activity in Washington, Tel Aviv, and Cairo.

Then, on October 6, Israel's cabinet rejected an Egyptian proposal to convene preliminary Palestinian-Israeli talks in Cairo as a way of breaking the deadlock in stalled efforts toward peace. That marked the end of the Egyptian 10 points.

Again, on October 10, in a desperate attempt to salvage credibility—lacking because of U.S. inability to influence Israeli policymakers—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker announced his own five points. "The Baker five points," were intended to be a means of getting around the impasse over how to begin a dialogue between Israel and a Palestinian delegation. These five points concentrated on the modalities of holding a Palestinian-Israeli meeting, ironically, "to further the Israeli initiative."

By that time, Palestinian patience had been pushed to the limits. Following a meeting of the PLO's Executive Committee, the PLO put forth its own set of points with regard to Palestinian-Israeli talks. "The PLO's five points" state that 1) the PLO is the only party which has the right to form a Palestinian delegation, to name its members, and to speak on the Palestinians' behalf, 2) the agenda for negotiations must be open and without preconditions, 3) the Palestinian side holds fast to the Palestinian peace initiative based on international legitimacy, 4) the proposed meeting must be a step toward the convening of an international peace conference as the final framework to resolve and implement a comprehensive peaceful settlement in the region, and 5) the proposed meeting must be attended by representatives of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, the U.N. Secretary-General, and representatives of Egypt and Sweden.

The Palestinian people are tired and fed up with all the political games Israel and the United States are playing.

As far as the Palestinians are concerned, this is it. There can be no more compromises.

The Palestinian leadership has to answer to the people. The Palestinian people are tired and fed up with all the political games Israel and the United States are playing. Besides, the Arab people and the world community look up to the Palestinian struggle as a fight against oppression, despotism, and tyranny. Just like the American and French revolutions, the Palestinian revolution seeks freedom and dignity for its people. These cannot be surrendered nor compromised.

No Palestinian expects liberation and self-determination without a fight. Palestinians have suffered tremendously and are aware that they must continue to do so for years to come. If diplomacy cannot bring peace and justice to the Palestinians, then—like the majority of peoples, including the people of the United States—they will have to fight for their independence and freedom. ❖

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BAKER'S DIPLOMATIC DANCE

THE U.S. STRATEGY OF PATIENCE WITH ISRAEL

BY JOHN ROBERTS

Patience is a most important quality in a statesman. But, at least when it comes to Israel, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker does not seem to be as patient as his predecessor, George Shultz. Recently, on several occasions, Baker has warned that the United States might have to "think again" if Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir keeps blocking his own peace proposals. ❖ On the other hand, neither Shamir nor his chief interlocutor with Washington, Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, appear to be patient men. In contrast, their bitter rival, Labor leader Shimon Peres, has displayed considerable patience, as has, more surprisingly, his Labor party colleague, Yitzhak Rabin. ❖ What this means is that Baker and Shamir are constantly pushing each other to the brink, and then pulling back at the last minute. Baker gets angry with Shamir, and threatens that all options for Middle East peace may have to be reconsidered, including an international peace conference. Then he downplays his outburst and resumes stolid politicking to coax Shamir toward reason. Shamir, for

his part, tries to attach impossible conditions to his elections proposal. Then he has to backtrack—in practice, if not in theory—as he realizes that he is isolated from all but Israel's hard-liners.

Meanwhile, in the background, stands the ever-patient Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, and the not-so-patient leaders of the intifada.

Logically, Baker's efforts to breathe life into the Shamir elections plan ought to have been regarded as hopeless once Likud attached its four conditions to the original proposal. But Baker, after voicing anger at Shamir, decided that the idea of elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza was not dead, and thus paved the way for Mubarak's 10-point proposal. When on September 26, Shamir stated his opposition to the Mubarak initiative, Baker persisted arguing that the Egyptian president's points offered a way to get the process of elections—and Palestinian-Israeli negotiations—going. And at their inner cabinet session a week later, when Shamir and his ministers, formally turned down the Mubarak initiative, Baker's approach was to pretend that they had simply rejected a Labor party resolution rather than the actual substance of the Mubarak proposals.

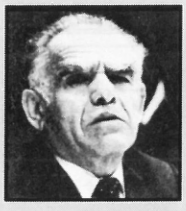
Damning the PLO is still a sport in which plenty of influential congressmen like to indulge.

What was Baker doing? He was simply trying to keep Shamir in play. Since Shamir is Israel's leader, and Israel still occupies the West Bank and Gaza, Shamir has to be involved. At the same time, Baker was making sure that when Washington did finally decide that there was no future in pursuing the Shamir plan, no one could accuse the Bush administration of not expending every effort to prevent anyone—including Shamir himself— from derailing the Shamir elections plan.

How successful Baker has been depends on the observer's perspective. Baker has never ceased to emphasize that the United States regards the trading of land for peace as the fundamental basis of any Palestinian-Israeli peace settlement. Increasingly, U.S. officials have gone so far as to state that this is the main chasm between Washington and Tel Aviv. The United States is thus moving toward open and public acknowledgement that on the central issue of any peace, it is at odds with Israel's prime minister and half his government.

Evidently, at present, Baker believes that by pressing Shamir to honor his own elections plan, and by working with Cairo to try to make that plan acceptable to the Palestinians, Washington can persuade Shamir that the land-for-peace formula applies just as much to the West Bank—including

The Likud Party's Four Points



ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR.

as released by Yitzhak Shamir, bowing to pressure from political rivals in his own Likud party on July 5, 1989.

1. Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem cannot run for office or vote in the elections.
2. The proposed elections cannot be held until Palestinians end their 19-month-old Uprising.
3. Jewish settlements will continue to be built in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
4. Israel will not give up any territory, and no Palestinian state would ever be established.

❖

The Egyptian 10 Points

EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HUSNI MUBARAK.

as released by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak in July 1989.

1. Israel will agree to accept any and all results of the elections.
2. The Israeli army will withdraw from the area of polling places on election day.
3. Israel will be responsible for starting negotiations on the final status of occupied Palestine by a certain and fixed date.
4. Israel will prevent its citizens from entering the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip on election day.

❖

East Jerusalem—and Gaza, as it did to the Sinai. However, what Baker does not want to do is to frighten Shamir by talking of the longer-term future.

According to U.S. reasoning, once Palestinian-Israeli talks are underway—and in particular, once elections are underway—then the peace process will have its own momentum. Shamir will be forced into trading land for peace, if he truly wants peace, and he will give up Israel's aspirations in the West Bank—including East Jerusalem—and Gaza.

At this stage, therefore, Washington regards talk of an international Middle East peace conference on the Arab-Israeli dispute, as only being productive if used as threats by the United States to get Shamir to put into practice the little which he has promised. Baker, in Oman, threatened Israel with the possibility that the United States would back an international conference when he reacted to a Shamir rejection made in July. Then, following another Shamir rejection in September, he hinted that the United States might have to go "back to the drawing board" so far as its Middle East peace plans were concerned. But when specific alternatives are recommended by others as real policy courses that should be followed by all the parties concerned, Baker clearly believes that such suggestions simply push Shamir back into his shell—a very hard shell from which the United States is persistently trying to pry him.

From Shamir's perspective, he has been placed in a position where he will have to choose between further delays and prevarications, or public rejections of U.S. initiatives if he is to keep alive the prospect of continued Israeli control over "Judea and Samaria." He can see he is being painted into a corner, from which his only hope of escape is to be able to successfully blame others for the failure of the elections initiative. As the correspondence columns of *The New York Times* have recently shown, Shamir's apologists have had to undertake extraordinary contortions in order to assert that their man is genuinely waging peace whilst the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, are waging war.

From Mubarak's perspective, Baker's activities have at least ensured the United States has become seriously engaged in high-level Middle East diplomacy, a point which bodes well for those who argue that no Middle East settlement of recent times has been made without active U.S. involvement. Mubarak certainly believes that only the United States can convince Israel as a whole to make peace. He also appears to accept the view that rejection of any U.S. proposal or initiative has to come from Shamir, in order to impress upon the Israeli people as a whole, as well as Shamir himself, just how isolated their prime minister has become.

Mubarak's motivations appear genuine, though he does gain some important benefits by virtue of his cooperation with Washington. His active assistance on the most critical Middle East issue for the United States certainly improves Egypt's position on such crucial bilateral U.S.-Egyptian matters as debt renegotiation, arms

THE EGYPTIAN 10-POINTS CONTINUED

5. Elections will be conducted under international supervision.

6. The elected representatives will enjoy immunity from Israeli occupation laws.

7. Candidates should be free to campaign without Israeli interference.

8. Israel will freeze all settlement activities.

9. All Palestinians of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem will be allowed to vote and run for office.

10. Israel is to declare its acceptance of the four principles which are the basis of U.S. policy in the Middle East—something it has so far refused to do publicly, short of offering them lip service. These four principles are—
(a) the [final peace] settlement will be based on [U.N.] Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;
(b) land will be exchanged for peace;
(c) the security of all states in the region will be guaranteed; and
(d) the political rights of the Palestinian people will be recognized.

transfers, and the hushing-up of undercover Egyptian efforts to acquire sensitive U.S. military technologies.

Lastly, for the Palestinians, Baker's moves have, at least until October 15, spared them the near-constant embarrassment of being seen in the United States as the party rejecting U.S.-backed peace initiatives. Both the Palestinians in the diaspora and those in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are unhappy with Mubarak's 10 points, and the United States is certainly aware of this. But as long as the Palestinians held their tongue, every obstructive statement by Shamir, has also made it easier for Washington to stress U.S.-Israeli differences.

The problem is that the previous image that Washington had of the PLO—a terrorist organization dedicated to the destruction of Israel—is still in the process of rehabilitation. Damning the PLO is still a sport in which plenty of influential congressmen like to indulge. But Baker and his colleagues in the State Department do not hold such simplistic views—nor do most of congress's key foreign policy makers. Thus, Baker has good reason for wooing Shamir, even in the likelihood of courting further rejections, as that would enable Baker to swing congress around to a more moderate frame of mind on the Palestinian-Israeli issue.

There are two fundamentally different lines of approach which Baker can adopt toward a solution over the next few months.

There are two fundamentally different lines of approach which Baker can adopt toward a solution over the next few months. He can continue to operate in the belief that Shamir and Likud are essential components of any peace proposal, or he can work to put together an alternative coalition for peace, excluding Likud.

But with the Israeli economy still in the doldrums, and with ordinary Israelis identifying Finance Minister Peres with their economic plight, it does not seem to be a good time to be searching for an alternative Israeli leadership to Shamir. He may need a little more rope to hang his hard line before both the U.S. government and the Israeli people at large. Only then could Baker start seeking a solution which ignores Likud's hard-line conditions.

Several times already, the PLO's leaders have pointed out that just as they are not free to choose the Israeli leaders with whom they would like to negotiate, so Israel should not be free to choose the Palestinian leaders in any official Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. The point is well made as it concerns Palestinian representation, but it does also imply that, for the moment at least, the Palestinians as well as Baker will have no choice but to deal with Shamir.

THE PLO'S FIVE POINTS

PALESTINIAN PRESIDENT AND PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT.

❖

as released by PLO Executive Committee member Mahmoud Abbas in Tunis on October 11, 1989.

1. The PLO is the only party which has the right to form a Palestinian delegation, to name its members, and to speak on behalf of the Palestinians.
2. The agenda must be open and without preconditions.
3. The Palestinian side holds fast to the Palestinian peace initiative, based on international legitimacy.
4. The proposed meeting must be a dialogue and a step toward the convening of an international peace conference as the final framework to resolve and implement a comprehensive peaceful settlement in the region.
5. The proposed meeting must be attended by representatives of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, the U.N. Secretary-General, and representatives of Egypt and Sweden.

BAKER'S FIVE POINTS

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER.

❖

as released by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on October 10 in Washington, D.C.

1. Israeli and Palestinian delegations should meet in Cairo.
2. The United States, Egypt, and Israel should consult on the make up of the Palestinian delegation.
3. Talks between the Israeli and Palestinian negotiators should focus on the Israeli elections initiative.
4. The Palestinians may seek clarifications and make suggestions regarding the May 14 Israeli initiatives.
5. A meeting grouping U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the Israeli and Egyptian foreign ministers should be held "within two weeks, in order to further the Israeli initiative."

By this analysis, Baker has little choice but to persevere and work with Shamir. He may seem to gain little, but nonetheless, he may be gaining a good deal of influence. For months now, the main focus of the arguments on the Middle East have been on the need to secure an agreement between the United States and Israel, rather than between the United States and Arab or Palestinian parties. It is arguable, for example, that Tel Aviv's rejection of Cairo's 10 points is tantamount to a rejection of Washington's policy, since Washington backed the Mubarak proposals. Shamir's rejection of Baker's subsequent five points merely confirms the centrality of the U.S.-Israeli relationship in the peace process. If the United States cannot make Shamir see reason, nobody can.

The events of October 15, when both the Shamir government and the leadership of the intifada rejected Baker's five points, make more sense in this light. To Baker, what may be most important is not the fact of the rejections as such, but the way they are played in Washington. If Shamir's persistent rejections to various peace proposals are given greater prominence in the months to come, then Israel's friends in the United States will impose increasing pressure on the Israeli prime minister to take a softer line toward Washington. But if it is Palestinian rejectionism that is stressed, the pressures on Shamir are correspondingly eased.

So how long could this somewhat predictable—and even farcical—process last? With Baker still only nine months into office, and quite evidently prepared to play a waiting game, it is likely to continue for a long while. Every time Shamir's elections plan is proclaimed dead—no doubt to the relief of Shamir himself—Baker somehow finds a way to say it is still alive—no doubt to Shamir's chagrin. Secretary of State James Baker can be expected to make more outbursts warning Shamir of the consequences of his unmitigated obduracy, but he will not proclaim the Shamir initiative dead until he believes an alternative Israeli leadership is both a serious contender for power and offers a better prospect for peace.

The leaders of the intifada consider the Baker approach to be so flawed as to be not worth trying.

To Palestinians this is amazingly frustrating, a veritable caricature of what serious diplomacy should be about. The leaders of the intifada consider the Baker approach to be so flawed as to be not worth trying.

But the U.S. government does not favor a showdown with Israel. Indeed, it is working as hard as it can to avoid a showdown with Israel—that much is obvious. But, if a showdown should ever come, with every Shamir-inspired rejection, Baker's patience will have paved the way for him to take on both Shamir and the remaining hard-liners in Israel and Washington. ❖

John Roberts is the U.S. correspondent for Al-Hayat, *a London-based, Arabic-language newspaper.*

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The Intifada is a Message of Peace

NOT WAR

BY THE RT. REV. SAMIR KAFITY

THE RT. REV. SAMIR KAFITY,

EPISCOPALIAN BISHOP OF JERUSALEM

AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

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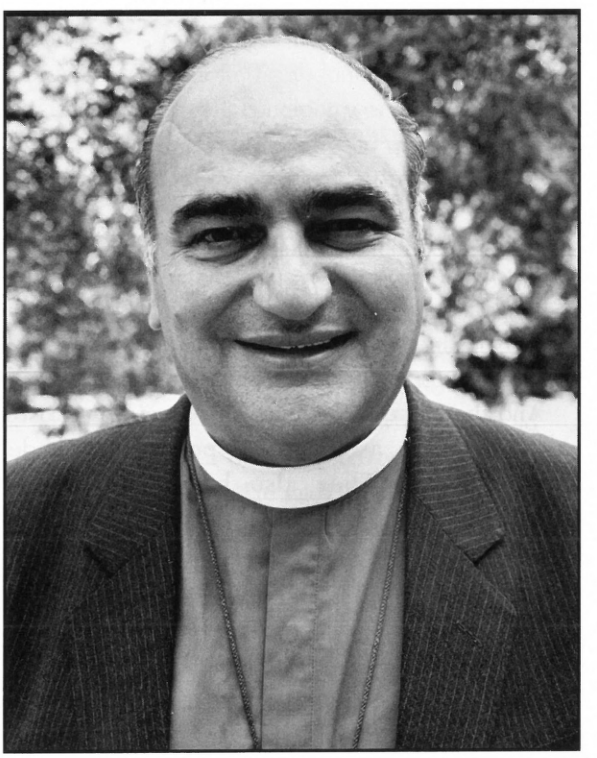

Coming from the city that gave birth to all three Abrahamic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—I have no choice but to pursue peace. I give peace top priority in my work, in prayer and action, seeking peace in Jerusalem and the world.

I am not a politician. I am a bishop. So please forgive me if I revert to preaching. Though it is very tempting, I do not intend to preach. But peace is the church's business, and I am in the business, so I want to discuss peace—only peace.

"Peace" is not easy to define. One can be very simplistic and give a dictionary definition of peace, but it will not serve our purpose. Nor does the dictionary definition give justification for peace. Peace is "a state of freedom from war" and "the highest measure of justice for all people."

In the words of the Hebrew prophet, Zachariah, 8:16, "Peace is the result of truth and justice." The Hebrew *Mishnah* (part of Talmud based on Jewish legal tradition or the *Halakhah*) elaborates a bit more: "Truth, Justice, and Peace, and in that order. Without the truth you cannot establish justice, and without justice you cannot hope for peace." The first Christmas song is peace. The first greeting at the resurrection was peace. The benediction is always conveyed as the peace of God, which passes understanding and supercedes man-made peace. Perhaps the most direct call for peace was Christ's statement in Matthew 5:9: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

As I cannot be divorced from being a cleric in the church of God, I am bound to give you some biblical reflections on the question of peace. Mind you, the biblical reflections are not the monopoly of Christians, they are also integral parts of Judaistic and Islamic thought. All three Abrahamic faiths agree on the meaning and formulation of peace as described above.

If peace is not the immediate concern of every individual, group, organization, government, and the entire international community, then who is to labor, work, and make peace? The World Council of Churches is calling for a conference in Seoul, Korea in 1990 under the theme "Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation." Thus, the World Council of Churches is placing peace not only at the top of the world's agenda, but as a necessary prelude to the 21st century.

Perhaps the 20th century did not take peace seriously enough. Think of the outrageous sums of money spent on armaments—reportedly just under $2 million every minute of every day. Think of the thousands of children who die each day from hunger or related complications. Think of the human rights violations that are reported weekly. Think of the 800 million or more individuals who continue to be trapped in absolute poverty, a condition of life so characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid surroundings, high infant mortality and low life expectancy as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency. Think of the warnings we have received about the use of certain aerosols and chemicals, which are damaging the ozone layer, and damaging our earth. The seriousness of the situation is clearly demonstrated by the sufferings of people everywhere. The church would like to usher in the new century with peace as a top concern.

❖ My people too need peace. The stories of home demolitions, forced exile, detention, beatings, bone-breaking, torture, and humiliation have become familiar to the American people. Last year, even the U.S. State Department criticized Israel in its *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices—1988.* In the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, the native people of Palestine have such restricted legal rights as to render them meaningless. And they have such limited economic opportunity as to make poverty inevitable. They also have no opportunity within the present system to obtain those rights or better their lives. They have no opportunity to express truth, extract justice from the occupation authorities, or experience peace.

Many of our Israeli brothers and sisters have expressed concern that the intifada is not being undertaken in the spirit of peace. Nothing could be further from the truth.

As one of the two super-powers, the United States, and consequently the American people, are expected to play a "super-role" in the cause of peace. It is quite mandatory from the text of the U.S. Constitution that the American role is that of peace. While the Palestinians understand very well the traditional American relationship with Israel, we expect the same relationship—with equal concern, and equal commitment, and perhaps equal spending—with the Palestinians. Evenhandedness, is a basic requirement for an effective American role in the journey to peace.

The denial of basic human rights is the antithesis of peace. The denial of basic human rights—be they moral, civil, legal, social, or economic—leads directly to struggle. The urgency of this theme is raised in many parts of the world. It has come to the forefront of Christian thought and action in Latin America, which has made a major contribution to the development of Liberation Theology. And, be they in Palestine or anywhere else in the world, the oppressed are struggling for one thing: peace—only peace.

We Need a Change of Attitude

Peace is usually made between contestants or enemies—not between friends. Friendship is an expression of existing peace, because friendship is made of mutual confidence, equality, and love between partners. In a crisis situation, where there are opponents, both parties—the powerful and the powerless, the victor and the victim—need to change their attitudes. Otis Skilling in his musical, *Love*, sings out loudly that love can change attitudes, love can work miracles. In our case, we can surely and correctly substitute the word peace for love.

Father Elias Chacour, a Melkite Palestinian Israeli priest, whose village was wiped off the map with the creation of Israel, conveys the necessity of a change of attitude. He chose the title *Blood Brothers* for his book which focuses on the Israelis and the Palestinians as brothers in suffering and as brothers coexisting in the Holy Land. He divorced himself from partisanship

and accepted the two parties to the conflict as brothers.

"Am I my brother's keeper?" was Cain's question to God. Yes, of course you are! This is the required attitude change. We are our brother's keepers. It is a divine, natural human responsibility to be keepers of our Israeli, Palestinian, South African, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, black, brown, yellow, red, and white brothers. We are all responsible for one another.

Many of our Israeli brothers and sisters have expressed concern that the intifada is not being undertaken in the spirit of peace. Nothing could be further from the truth. The very word "intifada" is a word of peace, not war. It is a word that Christians used on the third day, on the Resurrection Day of our Lord. There was a new "uprisen" life, a life full of hope, a positive life, a life looking toward a better situation than the situation before. The intifada has assumed the same meanings politically, sociologically, and spiritually for the Palestinian people.

After 20 years in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian people said spontaneously and in a peaceful way, without the use of arms: "No! to the occupation. Yes! to peace with the Israelis. Yes! to coexistence as equals under God. Yes! to a Palestinian State, near its neighbor, the State of Israel—but on equal footing without discrimination." After 20 years of the world lending a deaf ear to Palestinian outcries, it was a spontaneous expression.

After 20 years, the Palestinian people spontaneously "upraised" themselves. They got up out of the tomb, as did Jesus during the Resurrection, so the intifada is a spiritual movement. It is a political movement certainly, but it is a movement for freedom, equality, and peace—a peace with which you do not negotiate. It is given to you by God as one of his children, equally to Jews and Palestinians—both are God's children. The intifada is trying to convey this message. The "children of the stones" contrast with the Israeli army's heavy military and army barriers to give this message.

At the Gaza Hospital last Easter we met a 16-year-old boy who was shot in the abdomen with a rubber bullet. His condition was rather serious. He was operated on and we met him in the recovery ward afterward. The moment he saw me and the other visitors, he made the sign of peace—not the sign of war. I asked him what this sign meant. He said, "It means peace and victory for freedom and equality." The Lutheran Bishop, who accompanied me, asked him what he would do when he had recovered from this operation. He said, "I shall continue to be a young soldier for peace."

The intifada is now two years old. And what you have seen on television and other media is true, but incomplete. The media is not reaching all parts of the West Bank and Gaza and is not conveying exactly what is happening.

The Israeli army is flexing a very strong iron fist to quiet these children who are saying, "No! to occupation and Yes! to peace." According to most recent statistics, in the two years of the intifada, at least 700 Palestinians have been killed, and thousands injured by bullets, beatings, and tear gas. Many women have had spontaneous abortions after being tear-gassed. Collective punishment, detention without trial, and expulsions are still practiced.

In private hospitals, I know that most of the beds for the last year have been occupied by casualties rather than by patients. During May 1989, 515 casualties were admitted to one hospital alone, Al-Ahli Hospital in Gaza, requiring surgery.

The intifada has peacefully forced itself on the agenda of decisionmakers. It created a mood for peace initiatives. The PLO offered an initiative. Then Israel offered its own initiative. Egyptian President Husni Mubarak offered 10 points of clarification to enhance dialogue. Now the U.S. State Department has offered its own five-point brief. Let us hope the process will continue toward peace.

Not long ago in Nablus a woman was in a hospital. She had just delivered her sixth baby. Mrs. Patti Browning, the wife of the presiding Episcopal Bishop of the United States, and I were visiting. The woman's refugee camp, Balata, was being fired upon by Israeli soldiers, and from the hospital, we could hear the noise of the bullets and the tear-gas canisters. Mrs. Browning asked her what she would name the boy, and the woman said, "Peace."

That demonstrates the object of the whole exercise: peace. And as we approach another season of Advent and Christmas, we cry, preach, sing, and pray for one thing: peace—only peace. ❖

The Rt. Rev. Samir Kafity is bishop of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East.

FILE PHOTO

A YEAR FROM THE *Declaration of Independence: What Next?*

PALESTINIAN PRESIDENT AND PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT ADDRESSING THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL THAT WAS HELD IN ALGIERS IN NOVEMBER 1988.

❖

BY JEROME M. SEGAL

Last November the Palestine National Council, acting in the name of the Palestinian people, issued a Declaration of Independence. For any nationalist movement, a declaration of independence is a quasi-sacred text. Once issued, it becomes a permanent part of a nation's history. We Americans can amend our Constitution, but our 1776 Declaration of Independence forever stands as written. The same is true of the 1988 Palestinian Declaration of Independence. ❖ Like the PLO Covenant, the Declaration addressed

itself to the United Nations Partition Resolution of 1947. The Covenant declared Resolution 181 null and void, the Declaration described it as continuing to be a part of "international legitimacy." In those words, the Palestinian people formally redefined Palestinian nationalism. The nationalism of the Covenant requires the destruction of Israel to achieve its fulfillment. The nationalism of the Declaration seeks its fulfillment within peaceful coexistence.

Thus, Palestinians made history last November. But to what end? The Israeli government is stalemated and paralyzed while Israeli society is confused and polarized. The United States is relatively passive, not to mention that the U.S.-PLO dialogue, now almost a year old, has produced relatively little.

These meager results are deeply disappointing, but in fact there is little reason to be surprised. Did anyone seriously believe that the Shamir government ever was or currently is interested in living side by side with a Palestinian state? Shamir has spent a lifetime dedicated to building a "Greater Israel." For him, a Palestinian nationalism committed to a two-state solution represents a problem—not an opportunity.

And with respect to the United States, why should anyone have believed that the U.S. government would go much further than to merely open a dialogue with the PLO? In the United States today there are no political forces of real consequence that support the two-state solution. And without political strength inside the United States, why would one expect a major change in U.S. policy?

At any rate, the key issue for Palestinian independence is the question of Israeli military withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. The Israelis cannot be induced to leave forcibly. And the Likud will never leave of its own free will. There is only one way to bring about Israeli troop withdrawal: bring about political change inside of Israel.

More than a new Israeli government is needed. What is needed is a new Israeli political perspective which genuinely seeks an accommodation with Palestinian nationalism. Even if the Labor party were to win new elections tomorrow, that would only mean the beginning of a very lengthy process. What is needed goes much deeper. Jewish nationalism must itself evolve just as Palestinian nationalism has to abandon its "greater" dream. It must reach the same point that Palestinian nationalism has reached—a decision in favor of peaceful coexistence between two states.

The quest for the two-state solution is a common quest, one in which Palestinians, Israelis, and Americans can pursue common objectives. But any serious thought about tactics or strategy must start with realism. The issue is not how to get to an international conference within the next year. The issue is how to induce major political transformation within Israeli society over the next five to ten years.

The broad outlines of such a strategy are not hard to find. They are largely embodied in policies that the Palestinians have already undertaken, they can be found in the intifada:

• As resistance to the status quo, the intifada must function as a source of moral, political, and economic tension pressuring Israeli society to change.

• As a semi-nonviolent movement, the intifada has frustrated the Israeli right-wing. By limiting the level of violence, it has kept Ariel Sharon at bay. But it remains very vulnerable to a sharp upsurge in violence that will play into Sharon's hands. Thus, the intifada should evolve into a mass movement of civil disobedience—not armed struggle.

• As a peace initiative, the intifada gave birth to the Declaration of Independence and the Palestinian peace initiative. Yet it must be admitted that the actual resolutions of the PNC were less than crystal clear. Palestinian objectives must be made with full open clarity if they are to withstand any and all attacks.

• As a process, the intifada created the Palestinian state even during the occupation. Last November the State of Palestine was proclaimed—

Declaration of Independence
Palestine, the land of three monotheistic faiths, is where the Palestinian Arab people was born, on which it grew developed and excelled. The Palestinian people was never separated from or diminished in its integral bonds with Palestine. Thus the Palestinian Arab people ensured for itself an everlasting union between itself, its land and its history.
Resolute throughout that history, the Palestinian Arab people forged its national identity, rising even to unimagined levels in its defense, as invasion, the design of others, and the appeal special to Palestine's ancient and luminous place on that eminence where powers and civilizations are join-
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DRAWING: SABI ATTEYIH

this was possible because the Palestinian people, through the intifada, had transferred governmental authority away from Israeli authorities and to Palestinian authorities.

In short, what is needed is a long-term policy which keeps the pressure on Israel, which forestalls the "solutions" of the Israeli right-wing, and which makes ever more credible and acceptable the idea that Israel can and must live at peace alongside a Palestinian state.

If Palestinians can persevere along these four lines, in time, Israel will change course. But it will not come easily, and it will not come quickly.

With full intention, I focus on the Palestinians, for it is clear that they and only they are the major agent of change. It is not a matter of fairness. It is reality. Neither the Americans nor the Israelis have the capability of creativity and dynamism in pursuit of peace. The most they can achieve is a reactive political stance. If there is to be a two-state solution, the Palestinians will have to continue to assume the leadership role. No one else can make this happen.

The Palestinians must initiate a more liberated diplomacy. The Palestinian Declaration of Independence is the most fundamental document of Palestinian nationalism. It takes precedence over the PLO Covenant. A covenant can be amended or discarded: a declaration cannot be. The Declaration of Independence disemboweled the PLO Covenant. Palestinian diplomacy should take full advantage of this fact. Arafat said the Covenant is "caduc" [obsolete], but it is time to formally discard it.

Jewish nationalism must itself evolve just as Palestinian nationalism has to abandon its "greater" dream.

The Palestinians must develop common tactics with Israeli peace groups. When Palestinian nationalism accepted the two-state solution, it made possible a common movement of Israelis and Palestinians. The issue is no longer Israelis versus Palestinians, it is supporters of the two-state solution versus its opponents. But there has been very little development of joint tactics with Israeli peace forces. A few hundred Israelis have gone into Palestinian villages to open dialogue, but this is the tiniest bit of what is possible. A dialogue process—person to person—could involve thousands and thousands. And there could be joint Israeli-Palestinian, totally nonviolent demonstrations, marching under two flags. Not just in Israel and Palestine—but around the world.

The Palestinians must create the Palestinian state. November 15, 1989 is the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. But in truth there is no Palestinian state. It does not yet make sense to talk about a country of Palestine under occupation. There is, as yet, no fully formed Palestinian government. What is needed is not just an executive, but a functioning legislature and judiciary. What is needed is a constitution, and the development of a body of Palestinian law. All this, it is possible to establish from the outside, with tight connections to the leadership within the occupied West Bank and Gaza. At its foundation, a state is a living relationship between a people and a governing authority. The Palestinian people can begin to live this relationship right now. Even in the face of Israeli governmental efforts to frustrate it, it is possible to develop and apply Palestinian law, both civil and criminal, over much of Palestinian daily life.

A year after the Declaration of Independence, Palestinians on the outside should be traveling on Palestinian passports at least between the 100 countries that have recognized the new state. Bank windows in Europe should be listing the exchange rate between the Palestinian currency and the dollar and the shekel. It is time to move forward in these realms. With a Palestinian governmental structure in place, Palestinian tactics gain enormous flexibility. For instance, with a national government, autonomy is not an alternative to statehood, but rather the formalization of governmental authority on the local level. It does not matter that the Israelis do not see it that way.

In addition, Palestinian law offers itself as a new source of Palestinian unity. It is a framework that can limit the Palestinian vs. Palestinian violence which is damaging the Palestinian cause worldwide. And with an accepted Palestinian national government, local elections take on a very different complexion.

With a Palestinian government, based on the Declaration of

Independence and a constitution, the Palestinians will maximize their ability to determine their future.

The Palestinians must develop their democracy, and must do so for show to the world. Thus far, the Israelis have been allowed to steal the issue of elections. Palestinians should turn the tables. Palestinians should be building even more democracy than they already have in any arena they can. Palestinians should proclaim local elections, not to negotiate with the Israeli government, but to have elected officials within every city and village. These elections should be held unilaterally, without seeking Israeli permission. Thousands and thousands of Palestinians have gone to jail for waging the intifada—there is no shortage of Palestinian courage to go to jail for trying to vote.

Moreover, the new Palestinian Constitution should not be determined in isolation by lawyers in Tunis. The American Constitution was debated vigorously in the press—today these articles are called *The Federalist Papers*. The Palestinian people should be hammering out the framework of the society they intend to live in—this should be going on now, within the occupied West Bank and Gaza and around the world.

The Palestinians must formulate a detailed Palestinian policy agenda which leads the debate. A Palestinian government should put forward realistic, practical solutions for solving the intractable problems of the right of return, Jerusalem, and economic cooperation with Israel. The Israeli and the U.S. publics should be drawn into these discussions. Indeed, teams of Israelis and Palestinians should be working on concrete proposals right now. On the Israeli side there are many top academics ready to join such a project.

If there is to be a two-state solution, the Palestinians will have to continue to assume the leadership role. No one else can make this happen.

Self-determination is not something that one nation gives to another. Self-determination is something that a people has only because it takes it. To do that requires great self-confidence. Palestinians have made a strong beginning. But it is only the beginning. They must think in terms of a 10-year process during which they will be the central agents of change. They should expect little from either the Israeli or the U.S. government. In the name of peace, for themselves and the Israelis, they must continue to persevere and take the first most painful steps toward peace. ❖

Dr. Jerome M. Segal is the president of the Jewish Peace Lobby and the author of Creating the Palestinian State—A Strategy for Peace. *He is also a Research Scholar at the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, University of Maryland.*

Whether it is for a family whose house has been demolished
. . . a youth who has been wounded
. . . . a child who has been made an orphan
. . . a town that has been placed under siege
. . . a family whose breadwinner has been killed, maimed or imprisoned,

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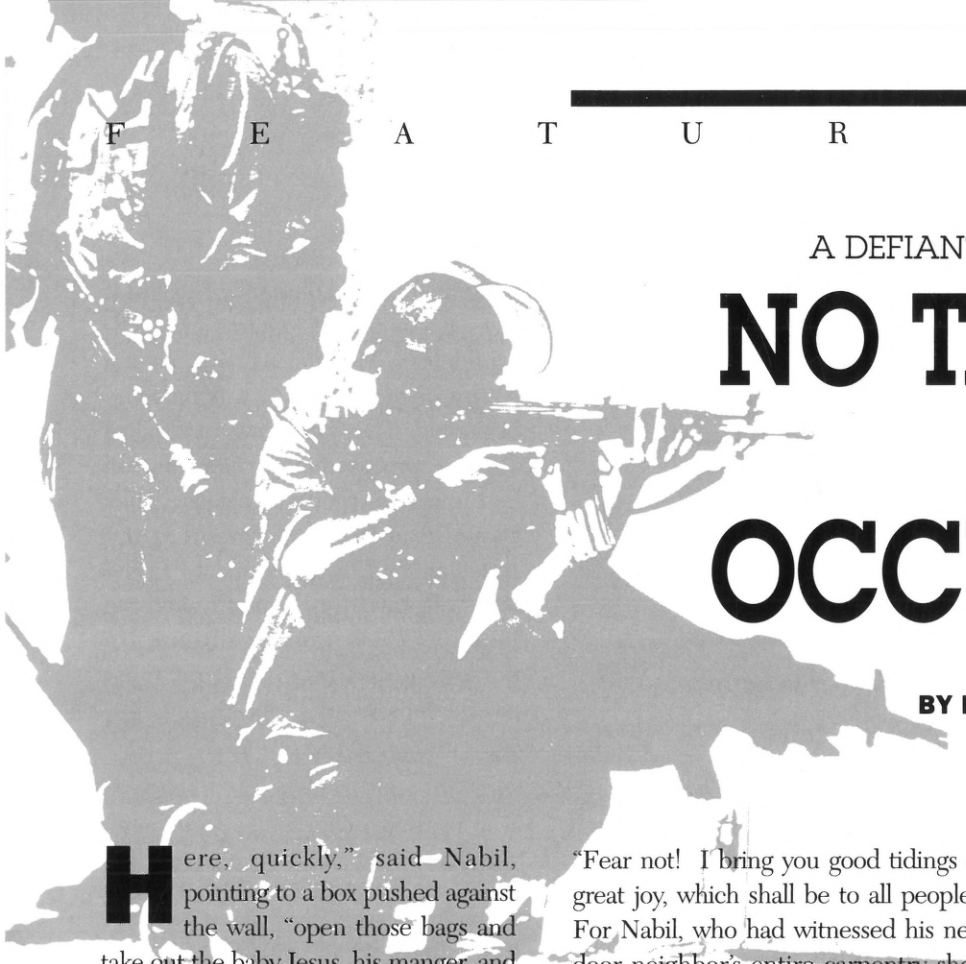


A DEFIANT BEIT SAHOUR DECLARES:

NO TAXATION *Under* OCCUPATION

BY LESLEY C. ABUKHATER

"Here, quickly," said Nabil, pointing to a box pushed against the wall, "open those bags and take out the baby Jesus, his manger, and a sheep to complete these other sets." I obeyed, stooping beside the olive wood carver whose fingers were nervously assembling nativity scenes and stuffing them into boxes bound for a waiting car trunk. I scarcely had time to admire the skill with which he had commemorated that historic moment 2,000 years ago in this very town where angels announced the birth of Jesus and calmed the fears of frightened men.

Despite the speed at which we worked, fearing the imminent approach of Israeli soldiers, from whom Nabil had hidden all that remained of a summer's work with wood, I could not but marvel at the irony of standing literally on the slope of Shepherd's Field—modern day Beit Sahour—holding an infant carved by a descendant of those once, equally frightened shepherds.

Yet, after quickly tallying up what I was smuggling out of the Palestinian town of Beit Sahour and was ready to leave, I could not tell him "Fear not! I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." For Nabil, who had witnessed his next door neighbor's entire carpentry shop emptied by soldiers and tax collectors the afternoon before, financial ruin was perhaps hours, surely days away.

As of mid-October, the 12,000-member community of Beit Sahour, just down the hill from Bethlehem, had already been under siege for three weeks. When not under total curfew, it was a closed military zone—Israeli soldiers barring admission at its main entrance, and working to block all possible entrances from the back.

The stage was set a year ago when this mostly Christian town decided to add a nonviolent aspect of their own to the intifada by declaring a tax revolt. Their message, not unlike the American "No Taxation Without Representation!" was not meant to bolster a claim for equal or civil rights. It translated into "No taxes to an occupying power, from whom we are in the throes of wrenching our freedom!"

It is perhaps the very nonviolent nature of the revolt, plus the particularly public way in which the people of Beit Sahour do everything, that brought down the wrath of the Israeli defense ministry. Almost six weeks before, the Israeli army had detained 11 men from the town. It held the eleven men six days in a Bethlehem stable, "where even cows couldn't sleep," recalled one. They were ordered to pay taxes: Israeli government income tax and a military-imposed 15 percent value added tax.

The army released the eleven with verbal instructions to return to Beit Sahour, convince their townspeople to pay, and report to court on September 20 with payments in hand. They refused, as a matter of principle, they say, and allowed the September 20 court date to pass unnoticed. On Thursday, September 21, Israeli soldiers moved down the hill and placed the population under total curfew. Seven men were arrested and several homes and businesses raided that first day.

Clothier Wafa Rishmawi was among the first seven. The 39-year-old Palestinian is like many in his village, operating a small clothing

workshop in the basement of his home. With machines imported from Europe through Israeli shippers, to whom he still owes a huge debt, he wove cloth, designed garments, and produced hundreds of training suits, a popular garment sold throughout the West Bank. His was one of the national industries quickly expanding in the intifada to meet a growing demand for Palestinian goods.

On September 21 at 8:30 a.m., three soldiers and a tax collector drove up to the Rishmawi home. They sat on his front porch and ordered him to pay 100,000 shekels ($50,000) in income tax. When he repeated the village decision to refuse to pay taxes, they summoned a waiting minibus and filled it with 100 nylon bags of training suits. Each bag contained 50 suits.

Half an hour later, more soldiers and a tax collector from the value added tax department appeared. They finished off the rest of his stock, carrying off another 175 bags, each with 50 suits, and two tons of cloth. Rishmawi lost an estimated $250,000 that morning, although the tax authorities had actually demanded he pay only a fifth of that amount. An Israeli tax lawyer who advised Rishmawi for years, reported that Rishmawi owed only $4,000 for the previous two years. Rishmawi's brother, a pharmacist, lost his entire stock of medical supplies and was imprisoned for 18 days, being one of the seven taken in the first day.

At the same time, a carload of tax officials and another carload of military men pulled up in front of the building housing the extended family of Nasser Abu Aita. The family lives in four adjoining apartments. The military ordered Nasser's father and two brothers outside. However, one brother was already in administrative detention at the notorious Ansar-III (Ketziot) prison camp in the Negev desert.

The tax collector then ordered Nasser to take them to his factory. "What factory?" he asked. Again, they demanded to be led to his factory. When he explained he had no factory, they asked him what he did for a living. He responded that he had been working as a laborer inside Israel. The tax man then consulted a computerized list with Abu Aita's name on it and declared that he was a liar—that, in fact, he operated a video store. "Not any more. It hasn't been open for more than two years now," the young man replied.

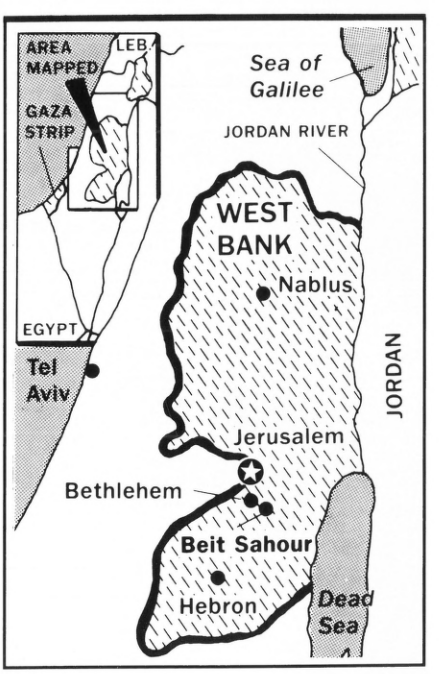
He and his father were told to sit inside their stairwell. Once inside, several soldiers came in and beat the two repeatedly. After a while, Nasser and his father were brought outside again, and the tax collector informed the young man that if he did not pay his taxes on the video store, the accompanying soldiers would wipe out the contents of his and his extended family's home. Nasser explained that he owed no tax on a store that had not operated in years, and that he did not know why they even had his name in their computer anyway. The threat was repeated.

At this point, the ranking military officer in attendance openly disagreed with the tax man and said his soldiers would only empty the contents of the video store but would not touch the home. The tax official and the officer exchanged blows, sending the military man back to his base in a rage. "When we saw this," said Nasser, "we were scared. If the tax man hit the military man, what would he do to me?"

The tax officer then ordered the youth and his father bound and blindfolded and placed in his car. They were driven a block down the street to a military compound established right next to the Greek Orthodox Church on the site of Shepherd's Field. They were again shoved into a stairwell. For the next 45 minutes, soldiers came and went, two at a time, beating the 55-year-old father and his son with clubs, pipes, hoses, and electric cables. Nasser was beaten so severely on the right eye that he lost more than 50 percent of his vision.

Finally, the father and son were removed from the stairwell and brought into the presence of one of the area's ranking officers renowned for his brutality, a Druze officer named Major Mufeed. Major Mufeed asked them what they had decided to do. "About what?" asked the youth. "I still don't know why I am here. I owe no tax."

Angered, the commander told him he had been personally



ordered by the military governor of the West Bank, Shaiki Erez, to see that he was "wiped out." He told the two he intended to confiscate their car, the contents of their homes, and the contents of the video store. "Then, after we have wiped you out," said the major, "we will give you 15 minutes to come up with 17,000 shekels ($8,500) as a downpayment on your debt. We will then negotiate the rest of your debt."

Abu Aita explains that he and his father were driven back to their home and left standing outside with the rest of the gathered family while soldiers carried out the furnishings. All in all, from the four apartments they confiscated six televisions, four sewing machines, two washing machines, two cars, 400 kilograms of yarn, 350 knitted sweaters, and most of the electrical appliances including food processors, irons, toasters, heaters, etc. One soldier put Abu Aita's wife's watch in his pocket. Another carried off his father's tool kit.

From the closed video store, they carried off 360 tapes, two video machines, and all the furniture. Abu Aita reports that still, the military frequently returns to harass him and his family. A certain Captain Yossi has said: "You lost one eye. I will take them both."

By mid-October, Beit Sahour was used to such treatment. More than 100 homes had been similarly raided and over 35 businesses wiped out. A pattern seemed to be developing as well. The night before a raid, the Israeli military moved in at midnight and arrested 10 to 20 men from their homes. The next morning they were brought back to their places of business and ordered to open up. A large flatbed trailer truck would park in front of the shop, and soldiers would cordon off the area, standing guard in front and back of the vehicle. Porters were brought in to assist in emptying the place.

Often the shopkeepers and their families were harassed, sometimes assaulted outright during the raid. And more often than not, far more in the way of merchandise was confiscated than taxes owed.

In the case of one owner of a building materials store, the Israeli tax authorities confiscated 200,000 shekels ($100,000) worth of emulsion paints, drills, wire cutters, and the like as payment for a $5,000 tax. During the raid, they tied the store owner's 39-year-old nephew, whose house was also raided, to the front of the truck, using the pretext that doing so would discourage youths from throwing stones. Then, they presented the owner with a bill: $100 for the porters and $500 for the truck!

With revenues from the occupied West Bank and Gaza having dropped to a mere 30 percent of their level before the intifada began two years ago, one wonders what it is about Beit Sahour particulary that caused the military to single it out. According to a Bir Zeit University professor who requested anonimity, *Beit Sahour, despite its size, has the character of a city, and a comparatively high standard of living. . . . There are many small businesses, and home-based factories. It probably pays more in taxes than any other town its size.*

In addition, it has a reputation for efficient internal organization, something the occupation authorities have been trying to squelch for some time. This organization, which allows it to maintain its tax revolt, is seen as dangerous and possibly infectious. The professor explains, *They have to crack down on Beit Sahour, otherwise this might drag the others [towns and villages] into the same position [of defiance]. They are pretty serious about this campaign now. It is a crackdown rather than a campaign for getting more money. It is also linked to the attitude of Beit Sahour. They are afraid of nonviolent activity which is embarrassing in front of the whole world.*

All over the town residents expressed a similar opinion about the seriousness of the military. They pointed to statements made by Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin that he intended to "teach Beit Sahour a lesson." Some said that during their arrests, the army had told them: "You people are well educated, intelligent, sensible, and not more nationalistic than the others. Why do you want to take this stand alone?"

The detainees responded, "Every day in Nablus, [there is] a martyr. In [other] places they throw stones. Here we don't pay taxes."

Already food shortages were becoming a problem. After nearly a month of on-again-off-again siege, some families were down to flour for making bread, and the olives that they could harvest while not under curfew. Others who could still afford it were stockpiling. One assistant principal at a village school would leave at 6:00 a.m. for Bethlehem, buy as many nonperishables as he could afford—onions, potatoes, jam—and return by 7:00 a.m. for the first school bell.

Everywhere one went, at any moment, the residents expected to be put under a very long curfew. Most tossed around the figure "two months" that they had gotten from reading Rabin's interview.

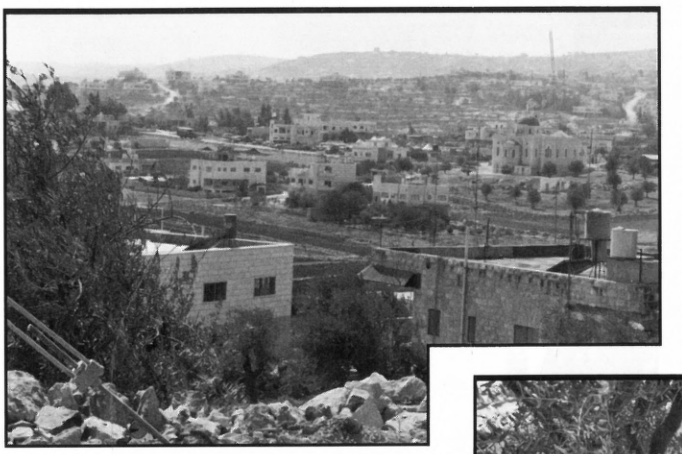
Only a few days before, the vast majority of educators and other nontaxable professionals in the village had voted to contribute $65 a month from their salaries to families in need. Everyone expected the list of needy to grow.

"They are trying to strangle us. It is getting worse day after day and God knows how long we will stay steadfast," said the assistant principal. "It is a matter of principle. It is not a matter of money, although we have no money. We don't want to break."

But the above-mentioned professor, feels that the Israelis have a pretty good chance of breaking them. Looking toward a situation of continuous confiscation of goods, more collective punishments, like a two-month curfew, and cutoffs of electricity or water, he feels that their only hope lies in other communities joining their revolt.

They [the Israeli occupation authorities] are aiming for the collapse of Beit Sahour. I think they have a chance of success. The only chance we have to win this struggle is a more practical position adopted by other towns and communities throughout the Occupied Territories. Solidarity is not enough.

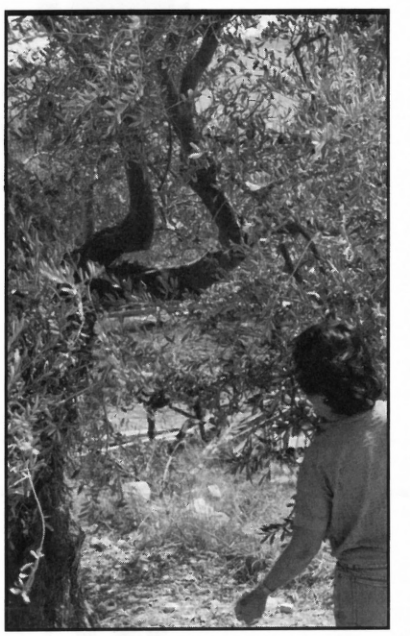
I am not so optimistic about the struggle going on here because it is not dependent on the spirit of the people here, but the response from all over. Nevertheless, Beit Sahour [waits] expectantly for such a response. . . . There would be no point in acting like heroes and losing everything if we didn't have this hope. Otherwise this would be an unjustified loss.



TOP: A VIEW OF BEIT SAHOUR.

BOTTOM: HARVESTING OLIVES BETWEEN CURFEWS IN BEIT SAHOUR TO AUGMENT FOOD SUPPLIES DEPLETED BY THE ISRAELI SIEGE.

❖



For the people of Beit Sahour, it is their spirit and their hope that will have to sustain them and help them make sense out of what is happening to them. Perhaps what they fear even more than the raiding tax parties and the army siege is a creeping bitterness that can take root if some 300 families are left without an income, if the town has no merchandise to barter, if their particular form of nonviolent protest loses.

Some are willing to pay the heavy price, if their loss is not in vain. They are hoping for the bearers of good tidings.

Awad, a cement block maker who had his business picked clean and whose wife had to sell the family furnishings to feed their six children while he was in prison, takes what is happening to him pretty much in stride. In fact, he finds it a bit amusing that at 39, he, a resident of Shepherd's Field, should have only one financial asset left, a herd of 30 sheep. ❖

Lesley C. Abukhater is a freelance writer who lives in Jerusalem.

HELP WANTED

International organization seeks an agricultural product marketing specialist fluent in Arabic and English. This person is needed for a development project and should have experience in domestic market analysis, training, and marketing of produce to European Common Market countries. Desirable experience includes knowledge of post-harvest handling of citrus, statistical analysis using computer software, and skills in one major European language in addition to English. Send resumes to:

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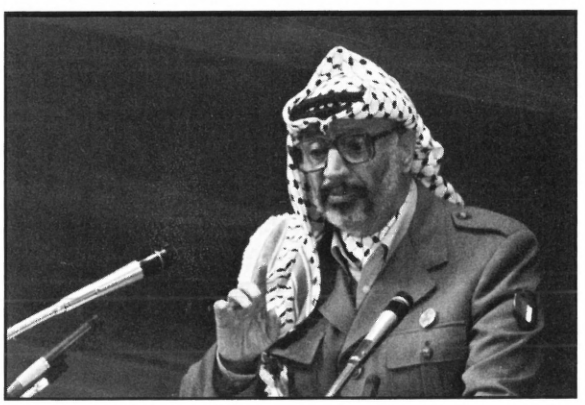
PALESTINIAN PRESIDENT AND PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT ADDRESSING THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN GENEVA IN DECEMBER. ❖



RESPONSE TO THE 68 SENATORS' LETTER REGARDING THE PLO

BY MERLE THORPE

On September 21, 1989, 68 U.S. senators called upon Secretary of State James Baker to withhold a visa to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat should Arafat seek a visa to speak to the United Nations General Assembly. In the letter, the senators state that "the PLO, through its recent statements and actions, is on a collision course with the peace process." ❖ Because the U.S.-PLO dialogue is essential in bringing Palestinians and Israelis together to negotiate a

comprehensive settlement, and because we believe that negotiations between the parties are the only practical way to achieve a lasting peace, I would like to offer the following comments to the senators' letter.

Senior veteran correspondent for Israel Television, Ehud Yaari, recently assessed the current state of PLO and Israeli government views of the peace process for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and concluded that—*Without trying to assess [Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak] Shamir's or PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's tactical considerations, and without attempting to judge the sincerity of their public statements, one must conclude that at least at the declarative level there has been significant movement on both sides. Israel—despite its hope that elections will exclude the PLO from the peace process—has recognized the Palestinians as the partner for an immediate agreement, while the PLO has in fact recognized Israel. The PLO is backing away from its goal of eliminating Israel while Israel is reassessing its attempts to ignore Palestinian nationalism. A process of* qualified mutual acknowledgment *is actually taking place: Israel is limiting its recognition of the Palestinian partner to the residents of the West Bank and Gaza and continues to disqualify the PLO, while the PLO predicates its recognition of Israel on Israeli acceptance of a Palestinian state as the outcome of the peace process.*

Progress on the peace process has been slow indeed. Nonetheless, Yaari's analysis points to important signs of progress which must be encouraged both by Congress and the Bush administration.

Palestinians are not the first people to abhor collaborators. During the American war for independence, George Washington assailed all those, including his own nephew, who collaborated with the British.

A recent study entitled, *Analysis Report—PLO Statements on Middle East Peace: Speaking with a Forked Tongue?*, prepared by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) of the Central Intelligence Agency, concluded that—*leadership statements and PLO media commentary have in general been consistent in relaying the main points of the PLO's peace initiative, even when transmitted in Arabic.*

While FBIS reports that there are exceptions to these statements, it notes that these are indeed exceptions to and not a continuum of PLO statements.

The FBIS report notes that the *Voice of the PLO* radio broadcast in Baghdad on December 15, 1988, aired the text of Arafat's explicit acceptance of Israel's right to exist and renunciation of terrorism at his press conference in Geneva the day before. Also, on December 26, 1988, in an interview with the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, Arafat stated, *The recognition of the State of Israel by me is based on U.N. Resolution 181, [and] the partition plan of 1947 . . . . This resolution did an injustice to us. But I accept it. A Jewish and a Palestinian state are to be established.*

According to the FBIS report, the *Voice of Palestine* in North Yemen, on March 18, 1989, broadcast the text of Arafat's address on March 17 to a meeting of the International Parliamentary Union which convened in Budapest. According to FBIS comments, *While repeating standard PLO attacks on Israeli policy, Arafat also clearly reiterated the main provisions of the PLO initiative, including acceptance of Resolutions 181 and 242, and professed a strong desire for peaceful, negotiated settlement with Israel.*

Arafat, in an interview in the Arabic-language weekly *Al-Majallah*, on April 5, insisted that, "the PLO peace initiative is a far-reaching strategic action—not merely a feeler or tactical move."

In an interview with Mike Wallace for CBS's *60 Minutes* on February 19, 1989, Arafat in answering Wallace's question if he would negotiate with Shamir, said, *Why not? With whom am I going to achieve peace? With my friends I do business, but with my enemies I will achieve peace.*

Terrorism

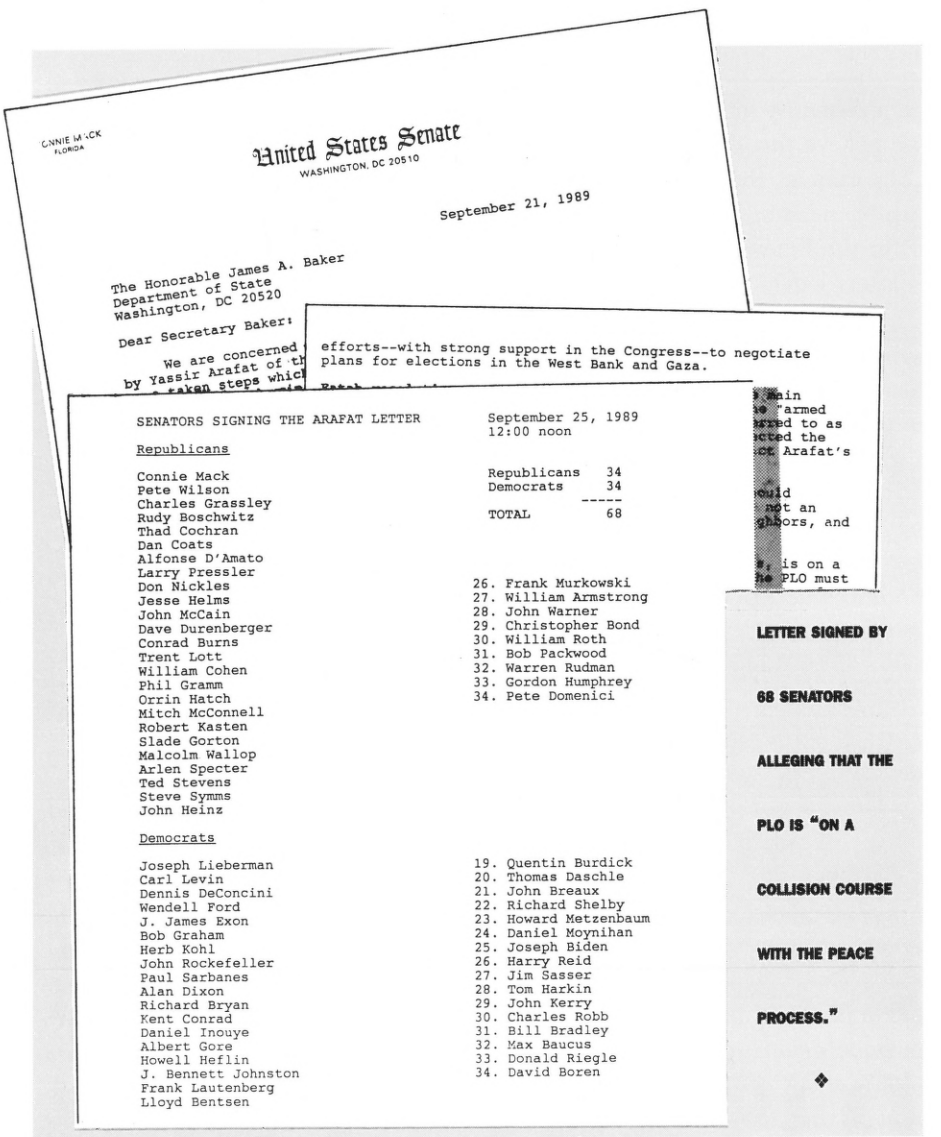
In their letter, the senators charged that Arafat expressed "understanding and sympathy for the terrorist who drove a bus off an Israeli highway in July, killing 16 people." They failed to mention Arafat's comments about this tragic incident to John Wallach of the Hearst News Service which appeared in *The*

Washington Post on July 13, 1989, and is noted in the FBIS report. Wallach quotes Arafat as saying, *Both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict are "fed up" with violence and should stop this bloodshed. It is painful for me to witness the loss of all these civilian lives. . . . [I] would tell the families of the victims that we are fed up, both of us, by the increasing number of massacres and in particular by this tragedy. We have to stop the bloodshed.*

COLLABORATORS

The senators allege that "the PLO has encouraged the killings of many Palestinians alleged to be Israeli collaborators." An article, "Israelis Training Groups of Arabs to Halt Uprising," by Sabra Chartrand in *The New York Times* of September 24, 1989, sheds light on the issue. Chartrand reports that groups of Palestinians charge that Palestinian collaborators are armed and trained by the Israeli military and "are regularly assaulting their neighbors." Chartrand quotes an Israeli security official as saying that—*the army has armed and trained dozens of Palestinians in the Jenin area . . . [and] these Palestinians helped the military raid villages and make arrests. . . . [These people were needed for] intelligence cooperation and the supply of data. . . . They are now helping the [Israeli] army find people to arrest.*

The Israeli military's arming and empowering Palestinian collaborators is, unfortunately, part of the cycle of violence that has claimed both Israeli and Palestinian lives. It is to be expected that Palestinian residents of these villages will defend themselves when physically harassed by collaborators.



CONNIE MACK
FLORIDA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

September 21, 1989

The Honorable James A. Baker
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Baker:

We are concerned
by Yassir Arafat of th
taken steps which

efforts--with strong support in the Congress--to negotiate
plans for elections in the West Bank and Gaza.

SENATORS SIGNING THE ARAFAT LETTER

September 25, 1989
12:00 noon

Republicans

Connie Mack
Pete Wilson
Charles Grassley
Rudy Boschwitz
Thad Cochran
Dan Coats
Alfonse D'Amato
Larry Pressler
Don Nickles
Jesse Helms
John McCain
Dave Durenberger
Conrad Burns
Trent Lott
William Cohen
Phil Gramm
Orrin Hatch
Mitch McConnell
Robert Kasten
Slade Gorton
Malcolm Wallop
Arlen Specter
Ted Stevens
Steve Symms
John Heinz

Republicans 34
Democrats 34
TOTAL 68

26. Frank Murkowski
27. William Armstrong
28. John Warner
29. Christopher Bond
30. William Roth
31. Bob Packwood
32. Warren Rudman
33. Gordon Humphrey
34. Pete Domenici

Democrats

Joseph Lieberman
Carl Levin
Dennis DeConcini
Wendell Ford
J. James Exon
Bob Graham
Herb Kohl
John Rockefeller
Paul Sarbanes
Alan Dixon
Richard Bryan
Kent Conrad
Daniel Inouye
Albert Gore
Howell Heflin
J. Bennett Johnston
Frank Lautenberg
Lloyd Bentsen

19. Quentin Burdick
20. Thomas Daschle
21. John Breaux
22. Richard Shelby
23. Howard Metzenbaum
24. Daniel Moynihan
25. Joseph Biden
26. Harry Reid
27. Jim Sasser
28. Tom Harkin
29. John Kerry
30. Charles Robb
31. Bill Bradley
32. Max Baucus
33. Donald Riegle
34. David Boren

LETTER SIGNED BY 68 SENATORS ALLEGING THAT THE PLO IS "ON A COLLISION COURSE WITH THE PEACE PROCESS."

Besides, Palestinians are not the first people to abhor collaborators. During the American war for independence, George Washington assailed all those, including his own nephew, [who dealt with, let alone collaborated] with the British.

ELECTIONS

The senators claim that the PLO is trying to undermine elections by calling for an end to meetings between West Bank and Gaza Palestinians and Israeli officials. Yet Egyptian President Husni Mubarak recently stated that Arafat supports the Egyptian initiative to make elections possible.

In a September 27, 1989 interview in the *Jerusalem Post,* PLO Executive Committee member Mohammed Milhem praised Israeli Vice-Premier Shimon Peres for his expressed willingness to accept expelled residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza as members of a Palestinian delegation to negotiate with Israel. In

the interview, Milhem said that Peres—*hit upon the formula that could break the deadlock between the Israeli government's position that it will only talk to Palestinians from inside the territories, and the PLO position that "diaspora Palestinians must be involved in any talks with Israel. . . . [Mubarak's proposals] constituted an effort just to move the process to the stage of elections, and to clarify the conditions for the election of the peace process. No one of us is against this." These sentiments hardly constitute an attempt by the leaders of the PLO to thwart U.S. support for West Bank and Gaza elections.*

Fatah Resolutions

The senators charge that recent resolutions of Fatah contradict Arafat's December commitments. The communiqué from the Fatah Congress indeed contained many points which reasonable people can conclude complicate the peace process. While Fatah is a major group within the PLO, its resolutions do not govern PLO policy. Only decisions taken by the Palestine National Council and Executive Committee of the PLO govern PLO policy. Arafat's and other PLO Executive Committee members' positive interaction with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's 10-point peace plan for making elections possible is a concrete indication that Arafat's diplomatic initiatives have continued since his December commitments and since the Fatah Congress.

Indeed there is much more that the PLO can and should do to reassure Israelis that the fundamental issue of security can be achieved in any peace plan. Nevertheless, the evidence presented in the FBIS report and by other PLO public statements contradicts the conclusion reached by the senators that the PLO is "on a collision course with the peace process."

In only one respect do I agree with the senators: *The dialogue between the United States and the PLO should not be an end in itself, it must be a catalyst for, not an impediment to, a dialogue between Israel, her Arab neighbors, and the Palestinians.*

Last year, Arafat used the United Nations forum to advance moderate attitudes on behalf of the Palestinians. At that time, he met the three conditions set by the U.S. government for U.S.-PLO talks. In December 1988, at the United Nations, he recognized Israel's right to exist, accepted U.N. Resolution 242 and renounced terrorism. Withholding a visa could well preempt an important opportunity to further the peace process and impede the fragile progress already made.

The FBIS report concludes that—*At the same time, barring a collapse of current diplomatic efforts, the mainstream [of the PLO] will probably be able to maintain its overall consistency on the substance of the PLO political proposals that have been adopted thus far, as well as on any further political concessions . . . that might be adopted in the future.*

In the July 22, 1989 issue of the *Jerusalem Post*, the distinguished former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban has identified four points on the value of the U.S.-PLO dialogue:

The opening of the American-Palestinian dialogue at the end of 1988 has already had salutary results. *It has given the U.S. an appropriately dominant role in the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. It has stimulated a sharply positive change in the rhetoric and ideology of the Palestinian movement. It has made Palestinian nationalism sharply sensitive to American reactions. It has correspondingly weakened the Soviet monopoly of an important sector of Arab nationalist thinking.* (Emphasis added.)

The U.S. government should take every opportunity to further the peace process and support the Mubarak initiative as it attempts to create a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians and set the stage for elections. The U.S.-PLO dialogue and a decision to grant Arafat a visa to address the U.N. General Assembly should be seen as an opportunity for Palestinian diplomacy to play its role in reassuring the Israelis and furthering the peace process. The alternative will only condemn present and future generations of Israelis and Palestinians to further violence. ❖

Merle Thorpe is president of the Foundation for Middle East Peace.

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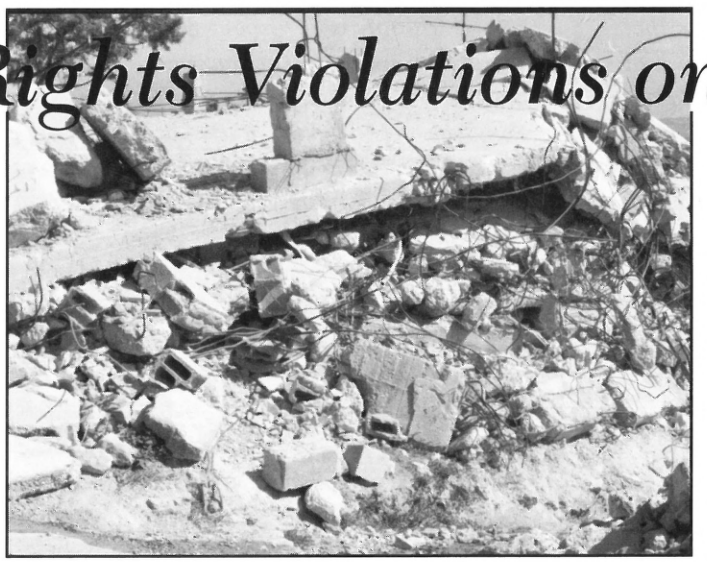
TWO YEARS INTO THE INTIFADAH:

Human Rights Violations on the Rise



DEMOLISHED HOME IN JALAZOUN REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR RAMALLAH.

❖

BY KATE CASA

Almost two years into the intifada, human rights violations in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip remain not only high, but are on the rise. And this trend is marked by harsher and more frequent premeditated violence—a trend that has received almost no coverage in the U.S. media.

Early on in the intifada, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger privately recommended to Israel that it crack down "hard and swift" on Palestinian protesters, and at the same time, block the press from access to the Palestinian territories Israel occupies. Not only do Israel's decisionmakers appear to have taken that advice, other voices in the United States have apparently joined the Kissinger chorus. Reportedly, Lee Atwater, media adviser to U.S. President George Bush and head of the Republican National Committee, privately told a group of Israel apologists in Los Angeles recently that it is imperative that Israel's actions in the occupied West Bank and Gaza be kept quiet, and that the media be kept out.

In light of his status at the White House, Atwater's statement is ominous. The brutal and escalating violence through the period of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's "elections initiative," has thus far remained well away from the attention of the U.S. press. One Palestinian human rights activist told friends in the United States in early October that the latest crackdown on villages where people have refused to pay taxes was so intense that Palestinians had little time to mull over political initiatives like Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's 10 points. They were too busy fighting for daily survival.

The West Bank town of Beit Sahour, for example, has been the target of such raids. Under curfew since September 21, townspeople report that an ad hoc prison camp located there spreads over hundreds of dunums of land to accommodate the increasing number of detainees. Recent arrests include not only the *shebab* (youth), but elders and intellectuals as well. Bir Zeit University Professor of Engineering Dr. Riad Malki, and Maha Nasser, a leading union activist, have been arrested. The Israeli army has gone so far as to head off a press conference on the "tax raids" issue by declaring the National Palace Hotel in East Jerusalem, where the press conference was to be held, a closed military zone. And the Western media, avid to document comparable abuses in places like Eastern Europe and China, has been successfully dissuaded.

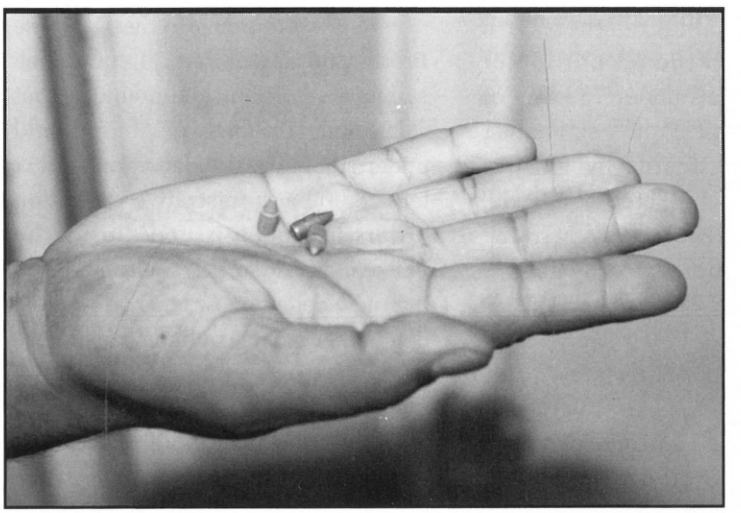
One type of news notably excepted from suppression is that which deals with Palestinian violence against Palestinian collaborators, often depicted as the bloody feud of Arab against Arab.

But Dr. Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, pointed out at a recent conference in Chicago that what is being revealed is that Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin is actively cultivating the increased use of Palestinians as collaborators, drawing primarily from among those with known drug problems, in order to try to reduce his costly troop level within occupied Palestine.

Before the intifada, Shahak points out, there were between 8,000 and 12,000 Israeli troops in the West Bank and Gaza. Now there are up to 120,000 soldiers there. Training has had to be cut and many units have served up to 135 days in the West Bank and Gaza in one year.

Human rights groups like Amnesty International and Chicago's DataBase Project on Palestinian Human Rights, together with its sister agency in Jerusalem, the Palestine Human Rights Information Center, have been tirelessly recording what is actually happening. Statistics compiled by the DataBase for the period since Shamir proposed his elections plan last April, for example, show 177 deaths by gunfire, over 3,300 live ammunition wounds, more than 12,800 other injuries, 261 house demolitions, 1,678 curfew days, 1,434 arrest and "cleaning operation" raids, 204 tax raids, 13 expulsions, and the uprooting and/or burning of more than 37,700 olive and fruit trees. All this while Washington gently massages Shamir's recidivist tendencies.

The escalation in abuses came on the heels of a U.S. State Department report early this year that gave human rights activists some hope.



PLASTIC BULLETS RETRIEVED FROM PATIENTS AT AL-AHLI HOSPITAL IN GAZA.

In its *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1988*, Washington leveled unprecedented criticism at Israel, stating that Israeli army guidelines on the use of live ammunition were often not followed. "Soldiers frequently used gunfire in situations that did not present mortal danger to troops, causing many avoidable deaths and injuries," the document states. It goes on to note reports of torture in prison including hooding, sleep deprivation, and cold showers—the widespread use of clubs and beatings "to break limbs and beat Palestinians who were not directly involved in disturbances or resisting arrest," and the expulsion and administrative detention of "many individuals, including academics, journalists, and human rights workers, who have not engaged in or advocated violence or other acts threatening security."

The report marks the first time that Washington has voiced substantial criticism of Israel. And yet six months after it was released, human rights activists point out that the U.S. government has made no move to give it any teeth. Billions of dollars in aid and military assistance continue to funnel into Israel, and unlike other countries where U.S. aid is contingent upon systemic changes, the Jewish state has maintained its unique position with no such strings attached.

PALESTINIAN SHOT IN THE PELVIS BY ISRAELI TROOPS BEING TREATED AT AL-MAQASSED HOSPITAL IN JERUSALEM.

In 1988, the DataBase Project counted 64 Palestinians killed by more than one bullet—some shot up to 12 times. But by September 1989, 30 such killings were documented, indicating a distinct tendency of the Israeli army toward targeting alleged leaders.

As the second anniversary of the intifada nears, another startling

statistic has emerged—there is a dramatic rise in the proportion of Palestinian victims under 16 years of age. The DataBase Project shows that 58 of the 177 deaths by gunfire between April and October 1, 1989, were children. That exceeds by six the number of children killed by gunfire during all of 1988. In addition, Yitzhak Mordechai, the newly appointed military commander of the West Bank, has implemented a policy that allows soldiers to shoot to kill any Palestinian whose face is covered. Seven such executions took place in August and September.

UNRWA has estimated that 69,000 Palestinians have been wounded during the intifada. The nature of the clashes and the prolonged curfews on towns and villages makes any accurate statistics on casualties impossible to obtain. What is certain, however, is that such a high percentage of injuries will have a profound impact on Palestinian society for years to come.

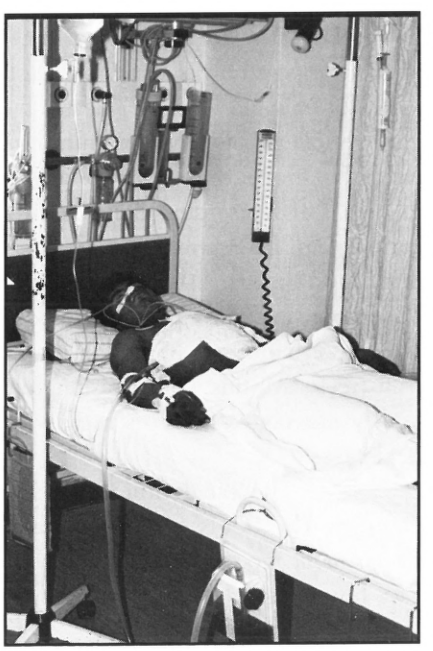
Dr. Jonathan Fine, founder of Physicians for Human Rights, addressing an October conference held in Chicago by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, stated that he is particularly concerned about spinal cord injuries, because "their tragedy continues all their lives." Fine pointed out that the Israeli government has refused to license new ambulances or to approve a pre-funded rehabilitation center in Ramallah which was requested a year and a half ago. He said he is also concerned about the "significant number" of Palestinians of all ages who have been blinded in one or both eyes, usually by rubber bullets.

According to the DataBase Project, on September 20, the Israeli Ministry of Defense announced that 2,124 Palestinians were being held under administrative detention, and at least 8,000 administrative detention orders had been issued during the intifada. In August, it was announced that new detention orders and renewal dentention orders could be issued for a period of one year instead of six months. The Ministry of Defense also disclosed that over 14,000 "intifada-related" prisoners are currently being held, including those arbitrarily detained, held for interrogation, under administrative detention, awaiting trial, and those sentenced.

Dedi Zucker, a member of Knesset from the Citizens' Rights movement and a founder of B'Tselem, a human rights watch group on the West Bank, writes in the latest issue of *Tikkun* magazine that since the uprising began, approximately 45,000 people have been arrested. "Faulty organization, general disorder, and delays in bringing witnesses (soldiers) to trials have caused thousands of detainees to remain incarcerated for months longer than necessary," he asserts. "Detention is used as a way not only to complete an investigation, but also, to administer punishment without having to establish [the] guilt" of the accused.

Expulsion is one area of human rights abuse that evokes a predictable, negative response from the U.S. State Department. Nevertheless, scores of Palestinians have been expelled for political reasons during the intifada, with virtually no follow-up action on the part of the United States. But much more surreptitiously, the Israeli government has begun implementing what are being called "Social Deportations"—the expulsion of women and children, usually under the cover of night, into Jordan. Jerry Levin, a journalist and former hostage in Lebanon, went to Palestine and Jordan in September to investigate what he calls this "creeping transfer."

In his report, Levin says families are being torn apart because of the Israeli contention that they have no technical claim to "residency in the territories" if they do not hold the required identity card. This usually occurs when someone has married a husband or wife from Jordan, for example. Under the military rules,



A YOUNG MAN SHOT AND WOUNDED BY ISRAELI SOLDIERS IN A VILLAGE NEAR NABLUS.

❖

children with at least one parent of this status are also subject to expulsion. Levin interviewed one 20-year-old newlywed who was rounded up on a raid on the village of Deir Nitham in September. Eight months pregnant and extremely upset, the young woman was being forced to cross the bridge into Jordan when she said one of the Israeli guards told her to "take a photograph of the West Bank—my home—with my memory, because your trip will be just one way and you will never go there again." DataBase Director Dr. Louise Cainkar has determined that over 100 families have been pushed over the border during the past four months.

House demolition, which is the means of collective family punishment often used in the case of an occupant who has not yet been convicted of any crime, continues to escalate in the occupied West Bank and Gaza despite a theoretical avenue of legal recourse. After an April 1988 clash between Palestinians and Israeli settlers during which a young Israeli girl was shot dead by her settler guard, 15 Beita homes were destroyed in two days. In addition, eight more homes were damaged when the 15 houses were demolished. The association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) subsequently brought the issue to the Israeli High Court of Justice, which this year ruled unanimously that Palestinians have the right to appeal before their homes can be demolished. Nonetheless, between April 1 and October 1, 1989, the DataBase Project reports that 261 houses were demolished for security reasons or because they were allegedly built without licenses, 41 were indirectly damaged, and 47 were sealed.

Fifty-eight of the 177 deaths by gunfire between April and October 1, 1989, were children.

Dr. Antony T. Sullivan, the author of *Palestinian Universities under Occupation,* has concluded that the Israelis' aim in closing the schools of the West Bank and, in some cases, those in Gaza, is not, as claimed, to suppress violence. It is to end education. Sullivan, speaking at the human rights conference in Chicago, said he has seen a reasonable level of interest in the U.S. media and in Congress, at least on this issue. Elementary and secondary schools in the West Bank were recently reopened after the U.S. House of Representatives drafted H. Con. Res. 124 which called upon Israel to allow Palestinian children to continue their education. However, grades 10 and 11, and all of the universities remain closed. School closures across the board affect 300,000 children and 18,000 university-level students—or 40 percent of the total population of the West Bank. During the 1987-88 school year, West Bank children missed 43 percent of their school year, the following year they missed 100 percent. For university students, the 1987-88 academic year included one month of classes and there have been none since.

Allegedly closed because they provided a meeting place where Palestinian children could demonstrate, underground schools conducted in homes have also been banned. Anyone suspected of holding or attending informal classes is subject to prison. Even a child walking down the street with a book may be apprehended.

According to Knesset member Dedi Zucker, new tactics to try and quell the intifada are employed by the Israeli army in waves, as Israeli policymakers sense periodically that their existing efforts have failed. The Palestinians suffer initial shock, says Zucker, but go on to recover, and everyone adjusts to the new status quo. The result, says the lawmaker, is that human rights in the West Bank and Gaza are being violated daily "on a scale unprecedented in the country's brief history." What he calls the "vicious circle of abuse, rebellion, and further abuse . . . is now threatening the moral foundations of Israeli society."

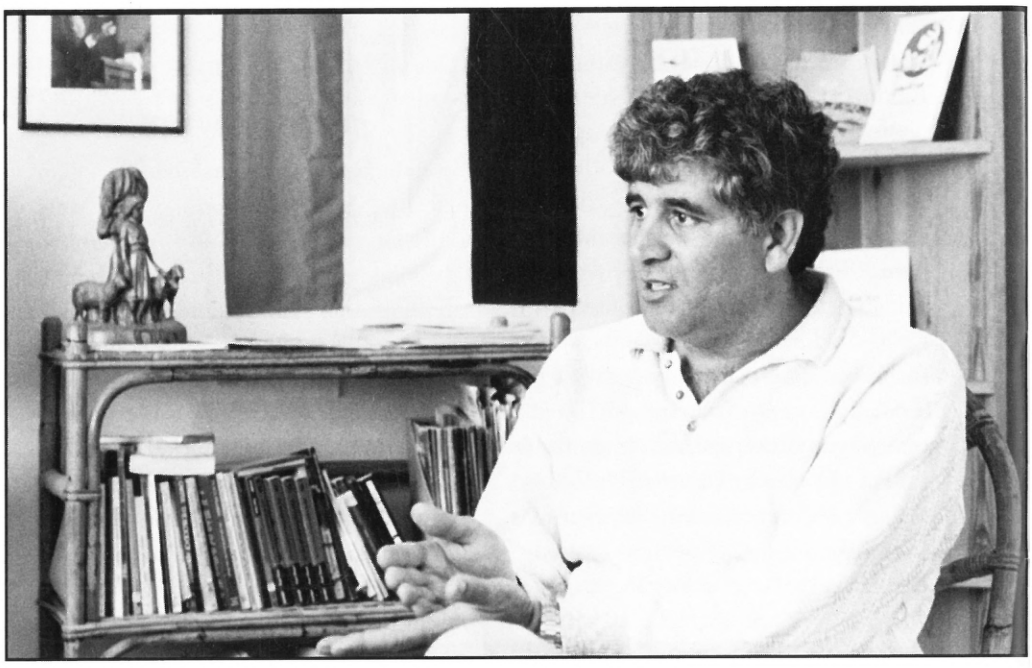
Ironically, as the oppressors plumb their moral dregs, it is the oppressed who are holding firmly to the depth and strength of their character. As Dr. Riad Malki wrote to a friend only days before his arrest, *Tomorrow is a new day with a new hope, and despite the anger, the frustration, the hatred, a combination of all the brutal Israeli measures, we are still hopeful, still looking for tomorrow and what it could bring. The spirit here is incredible, the atmosphere is rich with national unity, with Palestinian humanity—real support of belonging to the Palestinian family. You can feel the solidarity, smell victory, see real popular revolution in practice, and finally, make history for the sake of all humanity, writing it in your own blood and the blood of the fallen martyrs.* ❖

Kate Casa is a freelance writer who lived in Jerusalem.

THE SERIOUSNESS OF EXPULSION AND THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE

BY MUBARAK E. AWAD

BEVERLY A. ORR



MUBARAK AWAD IN HIS JERUSALEM OFFICE.

Expulsion is not only illegal, violating international law and constituting a war crime, but it is also a terrible and ineffective way to suppress political activity. My own expulsion, for example, has promoted the notion of nonviolent resistance among Palestinians, and, to the chagrin of the Israeli government, it has encouraged Palestinian nationalism.

My expulsion has also opened many doors for me. It has allowed me to meet with and speak to government officials at many levels—I even became a participant in important policy-making sessions in Congress and other U.S. governmental bodies. It has given me a platform from which to speak to churches, peace groups, universities and other educational institutions, and civic and political groups. I have even had to block out time on my calendar for the year 1991 to accomodate requests for speaking engagements from around the world. Because of my controversial and well-publicized expulsion, I have spoken to tens of thousands of people directly and reached millions of people on television and radio.

Thus, to be expelled is to be strengthened. Expulsion strengthens your ideology and makes you give more of yourself. It puts you and your activism in the spotlight for all to see. And it reminds you and those watching, yet again, of the conditions imposed upon you by a relentless occupation.

In particular, my expulsion has added to the spread of the ideas and practice of nonviolent resistance in the Palestinian struggle. In the eyes of the West, it legitimized the Palestinian struggle and energized it. It changed many minds that might otherwise have taken many years to change.

More importantly, my expulsion highlighted the Israeli rigidness that cannot even tolerate a Palestinian pacifist and nationalist who opposes oppression and the violation of human rights—a Palestinian who wants peace, is willing to talk to anybody who will listen, and is willing to employ the incredibly powerful tactic of nonviolence.

❖

My expulsion has demonstrated, once again, the arrogance of the Israeli leaders in power and their willingness to continue oppressing Palestinians. My expulsion has exposed the leaders' lack of human concern. Israel's leaders are insincere when they speak of justice, human rights, and dignity because, by their standards, a human being must be a Jew to have those rights.

Because their perspective is obviously racist, many Jews have difficulty saying there is something wrong—they still want to support Israel, and they view criticism of Israel's

treatment of the Palestinians as anti-Israeli. I have met with many of Israel's supporters from the Jewish-American community. In them, I can see the pain, but also the pleasure of what Israel is doing in the name of every Jew. I feel sorry for a nation and a people who have lost their morality.

Nonetheless, expulsion exacts a heavy personal toll on its victims. To be expelled is to be taken away from your unfinished business, your house, your car, your belongings. To be expelled is to be suddenly separated from your family, friends, and acquaintances, as well as the physical surroundings in which you grew up: your school, your church or mosque, your neighbors. To be expelled is to be personally confronted and victimized by the depth of hatred, fear, and lies of the Israeli government.

But expulsion is also a stamp of approval, a symbol that what you did for the Palestinian struggle is special and meaningful. After all, your

TAYSIR ARURI EXPELLED BY THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES TO FRANCE IN AUGUST 1989.

❖

PALESTINIANS EXPELLED BY ISRAEL SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE INTIFADA

	NAME	AGE	HOMETOWN OR CAMP	DATE
1.	Jibril Mahmoud Rajub	34	N/A	1/13/88
2.	Jamal Jabara	28	N/A	1/13/88
3.	Bashir Khayri	45	N/A	1/13/88
4.	Husam Hadar	26	N/A	1/13/88
5.	Freij Ahmad Khalil Khayri	40	Gaza City	4/11/88
6.	Mohammad Abu Samra	27	Gaza City	4/11/88
7.	Khalil Al-Quka	40	Gaza City	4/11/88
8.	Hassan Abu Shakra	38	Khan Younis	4/11/88
9.	Jamal Al-Hindi	N/A	Jenin	4/11/88*
10.	Abdul Nasser Abu Aziz	N/A	Jenin	4/11/88*
11.	Abdul Aziz Odeh	N/A	Gaza City	4/11/88*
12.	Abel Nafi	26	Kalandia refugee camp	4/11/88
13.	Omar Mohammad Daoud	N/A	Beita	4/19/88
14.	Najeh Salim Dweiket	N/A	Beita	4/19/88
15.	Mahmoud Abdul Rahim Abu Shamseh	N/A	Beita	4/19/88
16.	Mustafa Mahmoud Hamayel	N/A	Beita	4/19/88
17.	Sari Hilal Hamayel	N/A	Beita	4/19/88
18.	Ibrahim Ali	N/A	Beita	4/19/88
19.	Ghassan Masri	31	Ramallah	4/19/88
20.	Ahmad Al-Deik	27	Kufr Al-Deik	4/19/88
21.	Mubarak Awad	43	Jerusalem	6/24/88
22.	Adnan Mohammad Daggher	37	Al-Bireh	8/01/88
23.	Ahmad Mohammad Jabber Souleiman	35	Turmos Ayyeh	8/01/88
24.	Ziad Rushdi Nahal	30	Gaza City	8/01/88
25.	Jamal Abdul Jawwad Zaqout	31	Gaza City	8/01/88
26.	Luai Ali Nafi Abdo	34	Nablus	8/01/88
27.	Samir Mahmud Abdul Qader Sbehat	34	Al-Rummaneh	8/01/88
28.	Jamal Diab Lafi	25	Kalandia refugee camp	8/01/88
29.	Masri Abdul Hadi Abu Ghwaileh	22	Kalandia refugee camp	8/01/88
30.	Jamal Diab Abu Latifeh	21	Kalandia refugee camp	8/17/88
31.	Abdallah Ismail Jabri	N/A	Gaza City	8/17/88
32.	Ahmad Mustafa Abu Muaileq	N/A	Gaza City	8/17/88
33.	Yusri Darwish Al-Hums	N/A	Rafah	8/17/88
34.	Dr. Fathi Al-Shaqaqi	N/A	Rafah	8/17/88
35.	Mohammad Gharableh	N/A	Gaza City	8/17/88
36.	Ata Mohammad Abu Karsh	54	Al-Shati refugee camp	6/29/89
37.	Nabil Mohammad Tamus	24	Gaza City	6/29/89
38.	Riad Wajih Kamel Ajur	26	Gaza City	6/29/89
39.	Mohammad Madawah	N/A	Gaza City	6/29/89
40.	Mohammad Abdullah Labadi	33	Abu Dis	6/29/89
41.	Radwan Ahmad Ziadeh	31	Hebron	6/29/89
42.	Akif Wahid Hamdallah	27	Anabta	6/29/89
43.	Taysir Naserallah	27	Balata refugee camp	6/29/89
44.	Mohammad Al-Matour	30	Jerusalem	8/31/89
45.	Yousef Odeh Maaleh	30	Kafr Nimeh (Ramallah)	8/31/89
46.	Majid Al-Labadi	N/A	Abu Dis	8/31/89
47.	Bilal Izzedine Al-Shakhasheer	36	Nablus	8/31/89
48.	Taysir Rajab Aruri	44	Al-Bireh	8/31/89

*Expulsion orders issued before the intifada

PALESTINIANS AWAITING PENDING EXPULSIONS

1.	Hussein Hassan Barakeh	32	Bani Suhaileh
2.	Fathi Mustapha Hajaj	36	Al-Bureij refugee camp
3.	Abdullah Ayad Abu Samhadani	38	Gaza City
4.	Ayash Abdul Aziz Abu Saadi	30	Jabalya refugee camp
5.	Rizk Mahmoud Al-Bayari	29	Gaza City
6.	Mohammad Saadi Dukh	30	Gaza City
7.	Abdul Minam Abu Ataya	33	Gaza City
8.	Yousef Harb Odeh	N/A	Balata refugee camp
9.	Jamal Ibrahim Faraj	25	Dheisheh refugee camp
10.	Abdul Hamid Ismail Al-Baba	25	Al-Amari refugee camp
11.	Othman Mohammad Daoud	27	Qalqilyah
12.	Mohammad Abdul Jalil M'tur	38	Al-Bireh
13.	Mas'oud Othman Zaiter	42	Nablus
14.	Hani Mohammad Haloub	28	Tulkarem
15.	Taysir Mohammad Saleh	27	Balata refugee camp
16.	Sirhan Othman Duwerat	29	Balata refugee camp
17.	Issam Amin Fattah Dibay	28	Nablus

actions elicited a desparate Israeli reaction, an act explicitly prohibited by the Fifth Geneva Convention.

Expulsion threatens *all* Palestinians, and it must be taken seriously by all actors in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Soon, if nothing is done in the name of substantive justice for the Palestinian people, it is not unreasonable to fear that the government of Israel could possibly become the modern-day Third Reich. Before the outbreak of World War II, the Nazis spoke of annexing land and expelling Jews to create a Jewish-free greater Germany. And today Zionist extremists—some of whom, like Meir Kahane and Geula Cohen, have found their respective places in Israeli society and politics—speak of annexing land and expelling Palestinians to create an Arab-free greater Israel.

As a Palestinian activist who is committed to a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and liberation of the oppressed through the means of nonviolent struggle, I continue to believe that peace is possible—that the time is ripe to commit ourselves to resolve our problems now. It is wrong to defer a solution to yet another generation. The status quo must stop before death becomes the norm and peace is totally out of reach. It is not the power of the gun that is going to sustain us, but the power of the relationships between us as human beings. ❖

Mubarak E. Awad is director of Nonviolence International and a founder of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. A U.S. citizen born in Jerusalem, Awad was expelled by the Israeli occupation authorities in June 1988.

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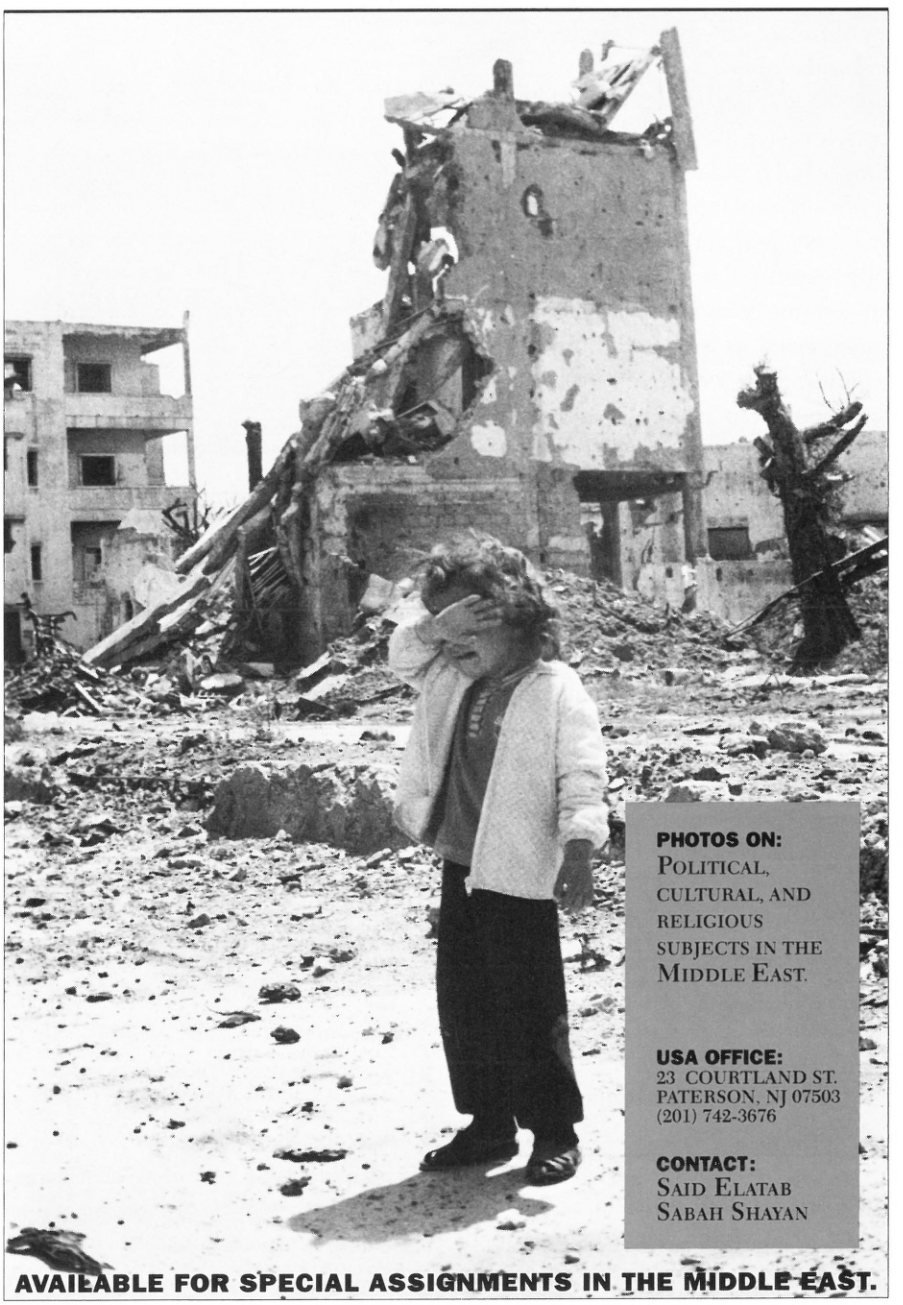
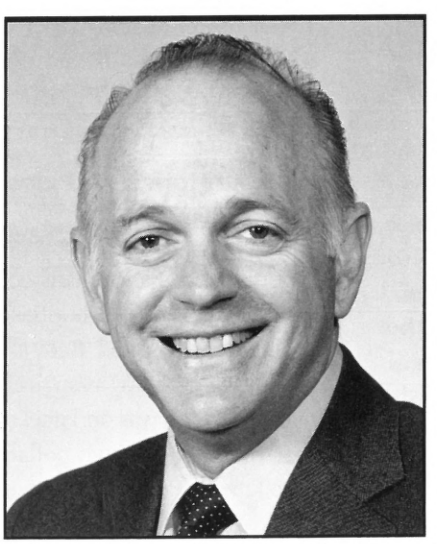


MIDDLE EAST PHOTO

SENATOR DENNIS DECONCINI ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The Honorable Dennis DeConcini has served as a Democratic senator from the state of Arizona since 1976. As a member of the Senate, he serves on the Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and the Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development, as well as the Select Committee on Intelligence—all of which directly or indirectly affect the Middle East. Recently, he went on a fact-finding mission to the Middle East and visited a number of Arab countries and Israel. He takes particular pride in his efforts to mount the war on drugs, to balance the budget, to protect the environment, and to help foster freedom and democracy around the world.❖



SENATOR DENNIS DECONCINI, DEMOCRAT OF ARIZONA. ❖

ON ARAB RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL, SENATOR DECONCINI STATED—

One of the things that I continue to press, in as nice a way as I can, with our good neighbors and friends over there—Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Oman that I went to—[is] that they ought to do something that I guess they can't do, and that is recognize the State of Israel, as Egypt has done. And the reason for that is not just to satisfy Israel's demand that "you have to recognize us or we cannot deal with you," but to put Israel in a position that they [the Israeli leaders] now have to find a solution because they are no longer dealing with hostile countries that refuse to even acknowledge that they [Israel] exist. ❖ And the

Continued on page 36

NEWS HIGHLIGHTS

Arafat Visits Eastern Europe and Japan

On October 8 Palestinian President Yasser Arafat met in East Berlin with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. The two agreed that a joint Palestinian-Soviet committee would convene soon. Both leaders were in East Berlin attending celebrations marking East Germany's 40th anniversary. President Arafat also met with East German leader Erich Honecker, and then headed for Bucharest for a meeting with Rumanian President Nicolae Ceaucescu.

The previous week, President Arafat made his first official visit to Japan, for talks with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and other Japanese leaders.

Total of 19,200 Ansar-III Detainees Since March 1987

The number of Palestinians detained at the Negev's Ansar-III (Ketziot) prison camp between March 17, 1987, and October 1, 1989, totalled 19,200. Seventy percent of the detainees, who are imprisoned without formal charges or trial, had been incarcerated more than once.

New Jewish Settlement Opened in Gaza

The Israeli daily *Hadashot* reported on October 16 that a new settlement, named Kfar Drom, was opened in the Gush Qteif settlement area of Gaza.

The paper added that the Gaza settlers advanced the date of the inauguration of the new settlement "in retaliation against the 10-point plan" presented by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, which calls, in part, for "freezing settlements in the Occupied Territories."

"State of Judea" Board Convenes in Jerusalem

Members of the board of the "State of Judea" met in Jerusalem's Sonesta Hotel October 15 to discuss questions relating to security, education, and law in the new state to be proclaimed by militant settlers in the event that Israel evacuates the occupied West Bank, the Israeli daily *Hadashot* reported on October 16.

Colonel Shlomo Baum called for the "immediate stockpiling of arms, so it would be possible to occupy the areas" that might be vacated by the Israeli army. Baum also heads a commission for developing plans to put down the intifada, control the West Bank, and fight Jordan.

Rabbi Schliffer, self-designated "Minister of Education," has laid down economic plans for the "State of Judea" independent of Israel's, the paper added.

64 Injured in Gaza in One Night

On October 13, hospital and UNRWA infirmary sources in Gaza said that 64 Palestinians were injured in the course of clashes with the Israeli army the previous night and sought treatment. A total of 21 Gazans were shot and wounded with live and plastic bullets, 34 were beaten severely, and nine suffered the ill effects of tear-gas inhalation.

145 Israeli Cars Set on Fire this Year

On October 12, Israel Television reported that 145 Israeli cars have been set on fire so far this year. The figure for the same period in 1988 was 109. The television report noted that Jerusalem had recently experienced a significant increase in car-torching incidents.

Gaza Journalist Arrested and Printed Material Confiscated

On the evening of October 2, the Israeli occupation authorities arrested Khaled Al-Yazigi, a Gaza journalist and owner of the Gaza Media Center. Also, Al-Yazigi's house was raided and literature and other printed material was confiscated.

Collaborators Stab Palestinian Activist to Death

On October 3, the Israeli evening daily *Maariv* reported that Palestinians collaborating with the Israeli occupation authorities stabbed 22-year-old Mohammad Hamed Bani Odeh. Israeli military sources denied any responsibility for the killing, but Bani Odeh was on Israel's wanted list. It is the first time that known collaborators with Israel have killed a Palestinian activist.

Since Start of the Intifada, 236 Homes Demolished and 94 Sealed

On September 28, Israeli military sources revealed that the army has demolished 236 houses and sealed 94 others, during the first 22 months of the intifada, as a form of collective punishment. In addition, 300 houses in the West Bank and Gaza were torn down because they lacked "legal building permits."

Israel has Expelled 150 "Undocumented" Ramallah Residents

On September 29, the Israeli publication *Kol Yerushalayim (Voice of Jerusalem)* reported that the Israeli occupation authorities have recently expelled about 150 Palestinians from the city of Ramallah. Virtually all of these recent expellees are women and children, whom the occupation authorities claim were illegal aliens lacking permanent residence documents.

Occupation Authorities Outlaw Hamas Islamic Movement

Effective September 28, the Israeli government and occupation authorities made membership in the Hamas Islamic Movement illegal throughout the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel. According to Israeli security sources, Hamas has contributed to the escalation of the intifada.

Israeli Arabs Reportedly Help Market West Bank Produce

On October 9, Israel Television reported that a group of Israeli Arabs from Nazareth has set up a business venture to help market West Bank produce inside Israel as a means of supporting the intifada. *Al-Watan,* organ of the Progressive National Movement, disclosed the existence of the group. The movement has lent support to the new business venture, according to the television report.

Also, West Bank companies are currently selling cooking-gas bottles inside Israel at prices far lower than the going rate.

Israelis Divided over Peace Activist's Conviction for Meeting Arafat

Right-wing Israeli circles welcomed the conviction of Abbie Nathan for meeting with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and commended the court decision. Left-wing parties, however, expressed resentment and said they are planning to present a bill in the Knesset to abrogate the law barring contacts between Israeli citizens and PLO officials.

Nathan was sentenced to serve six months in prison in addition to a one-year suspended sentence.

Soviet Jewish Emigration at All-Time High

On October 3, Israel Television reported that 1,160 Soviet Jews arrived in Israel during the month of September. That is the highest number of Soviet immigrants for any one month in the past 10 years. The television newscast also disclosed that there are plans to accommodate at least some of the immigrants in West Bank and Gaza settlements.

Peru Declares Israeli Military Advisors Personae Non Grata

The Peruvian government has declared the Israeli military experts working in Peru personae non grata, because evidence has been uncovered implicating the Israeli advisors in training hit squads, drug cartels, and anti-regime groups, according to an October 2 broadcast on Israel Television. According to the Israeli government, the military experts have done no more thant train "a special anti-terrorist unit in Peru."

The Philippines is Latest to Recognize State of Palestine

PLO political department chief Farouk Kaddoumi and Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus signed a protocol of mutual recognition between the State of Palestine and the Philippines at the U.N. headquarters in New York on September 29. This brings to more than 110 the number of countries that recognize the Palestinian state.

—compiled by Michael Hindi and Geoffrey D. Schad

thing is that the people you talk to over there, acknowledge that Israel exists now. They acknowledge that what [Egyptian President Husni] Mubarak and [former Egyptian President Anwar] Sadat had done is the right thing and is going to stay. And yet they cannot take that risk, because of the PLO—the radical PLO elements—and others that they may be afraid of, if they actually make that [recognition of Israel] public.

ON ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR'S ELECTIONS PROPOSAL—

Shamir's proposal, I thought, was pretty good, because it's a 100 degrees or more opposite of what he told us just four months before when he sat here in the Senate with Senator [Alan] Cranston, [myself], and 17 other senators. [We told] him "we're good friends of your state—of Israel. You've got to do something, on the humanitarian basis, with this problem." And he said, "We will not have elections. That's not in the cards." [Senator DeConcini's emphasis.] Those were his words. And Shamir has changed his mind, at great political risk to him. Now, he altered it [again], I'm sorry to see. He put some conditions on it, but he changed his mind.

ON DEALING WITH THE PLO—

Israel needs to continue to be encouraged to deal with the PLO as well as the West Bank and the Gaza Palestinians. . . . We [Americans] are willing to deal with Palestinians. . . .

And I said, "You know, if the United States can change its position and deal with the PLO, why can't you?" They don't have a good answer for that, but they will have to come to some resolution in that area....

I had a real bias against Arafat. . . . But I am willing to change.

I said, "If the Palestinians walk in here today and talk to you Mr. Prime Minister, some of them are going to be PLO, probably the majority of them are going to be PLO. His answer: "Well we're not going to make them sign affidavits." And they've got to get off that kick too. To me, it plays both ways. You know, both people have such stringent views here. The Arab World says to Israel, "You have to comply with Resolution 242, and you have designs of a greater Israel." And the Israelis have their internal political process by which the Arabs can substantiate speeches for that.

The Israelis say, "Look, we can never deal with the PLO, because you are a bunch of terrorists and we will never deal with you." I used to like that position, with the United States. I made speeches against the PLO and Mr. Arafat because of his terrorist activities. Once he [Arafat] was willing to renounce terrorism and recognize Israel, which he never did before, in clear language as he has now, I agreed with Shultz, we had to change our position. I changed my position. It was hard for me to do because I had a real bias against Arafat. . . . But I am willing to change.

The Israelis have got to be willing to deal with him too. The United States is doing what we can to deal with them [the Palestinians] and bring them in. We can't force them. We can't say, "you have got to do this," any more than we can say that to Egypt or to Kuwait or anyone else.

ON THE FUTURE—

There is too much at stake, in the loss of life and in the hatred among the Arabs and Jews. There is too much to be achieved not to find a solution. You can't hate all your life. You can't war all your life. You have to put those things aside. It doesn't mean that you are going to love somebody or like them for all the things that they've done in the past, whether you're Arab or you're Jewish or Israeli, but you have to get over this problem of not talking to each other and not working for a solution.

ON ISRAELI TREATMENT OF ARAB AMERICANS—

I spoke to [Israeli Labor party leader Shimon] Peres, I spoke to their [Israel's] foreign minister, I went to their air base and saw their military people, I talked to [Benyamin] Netanyahu . . . and I talked to somebody in their Justice Ministry as to the humanitarian application of their laws to the Palestinians, and about the problem that I see of their not permitting visas to legitimate Palestinians in the United States to visit those [Occupied Territories]. They're restricted substantially because they are worried of their being in there for organizational purposes.

But I said there are a lot of Palestinians in the United States who want to go back, not under these conditions, but at least for holidays, and to see their parents, and you should let them go. And I argued that with the Ministry of Justice. ❖

Mohamed Hakki is the former head of Egypt's information agency. He currently serves on the editorial board of The Return.

PBS PROGRAMMING ON THE MIDDLE EAST
Largely One Sided

BY VICKI KEMPER

Rarely, if ever, had the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) incurred such public wrath and threatening protests as those generated by its plans to broadcast *Days of Rage: The Young Palestinians,* a 90-minute documentary on the intifada produced by Jo Franklin-Trout. Soon after, powerful American-Jewish groups began objecting to the film on political grounds, and the PBS sponsoring station for the program withdrew its sponsorship, calling *Days of Rage* a "pure propaganda piece."

But when another PBS station picked up the sponsorship and announced it would broadcast the film at a later date, opposition to the documentary really mobilized. Local and national Jewish groups organized letter-writing campaigns to PBS stations; "viewer's guides" were distributed to group members and newspaper television critics; Jewish viewers threatened to suspend financial contributions to local PBS stations; and one Israeli financier sought to pressure his local PBS station with an almost full-page advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times.*

By the time the documentary and 60 minutes of "wrap-around" programming finally aired September 6 and 7 on some 300 PBS stations nationwide, an exasperated Franklin-Trout was complaining that she had been "besieged" by 19 Jewish organizations for her straightforward portrayal of Palestinian life under Israeli occupation. PBS executives were also exhausted by the volume and nature of criticism of the country's public broadcasting system that had been generated by the *Days of Rage* controversy.

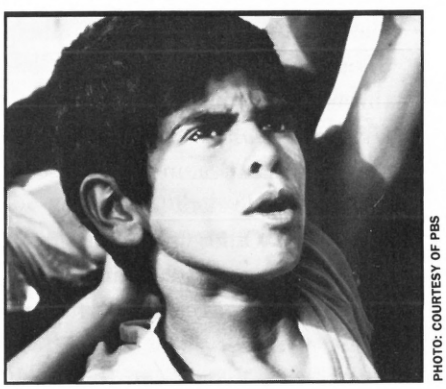


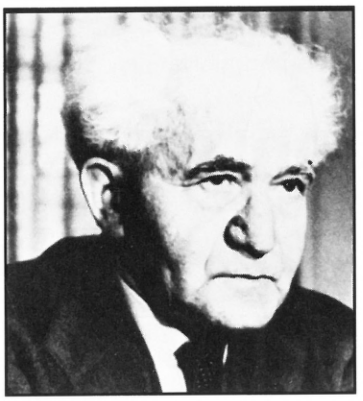
PHOTO: COURTESY OF PBS

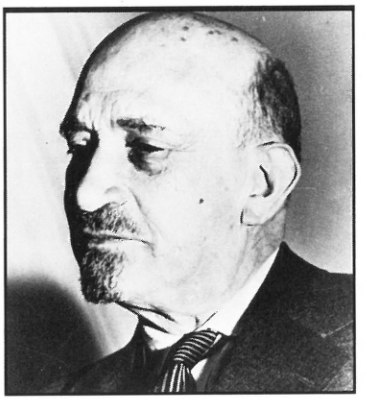
***DAYS OF RAGE: THE YOUNG PALESTINIANS*, A 90-MINUTE DOCUMENTARY, SHOT ON LOCATION IN THE ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, TAKES A FIRSTHAND LOOK AT THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING, THE INTIFADA, FUELED BY THE RAGE AND FURY OF A NEW GENERATION OF YOUNG PALESTINIANS.**

❖

"When the whole thing was happening and different people were talking to us, we started wondering" about the "balance" of PBS programming on Arab, Israeli, and Jewish issues, said Robb Diegh, PBS director of corporate information.

The result of the executives' "wondering" is a 43-page, descriptive list of documentaries, programs, and news segments on Middle Eastern and Jewish issues broadcast by PBS since 1985. According to the statement introducing the list, "*Days of Rage* is but a small fraction of the hundreds of hours of programming that PBS has devoted in





PHOTOS: COURTESY OF PBS

ISRAEL'S FIRST PRIME MINISTER DAVID BEN-GURION (LEFT) AND FIRST PRESIDENT CHAIM WEIZMANN (RIGHT) BOTH WERE FEATURED IN "INTO THE FUTURE," THE FINAL EPISODE OF THE NINE-PART SERIES *HERITAGE: CIVILIZATION AND THE JEWS*, WHICH AIRED ON PUBLIC TELEVISION AND EXAMINED THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND PROBED THE MEANING OF MODERN JEWISH IDENTITY.

❖

recent years to coverage of both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

But the list, which appears to have been compiled as a defensive effort to appease Jewish funders and viewers of PBS programming, actually documents that a majority of PBS's "hundreds of hours" of Middle Eastern programming was devoted to Jewish history and culture. In the programming of Arab-Israeli issues, there was almost complete dominance of Israeli- and Jewish-centered views.

In the past four years, public television stations have broadcast 30 major productions, totaling 44 individual programs, on the Holocaust. On the other hand, fewer than 10 of those "hundreds of hours" reflected relatively "balanced" Israeli and Arab perspectives on their longstanding territorial conflict. Even less time was given exclusively to Arab or Palestinian perspectives.

Yet few, if any, of the scores of documentaries and news programs about Israeli issues or Jewish history and culture attracted critical attention or public scrutiny. Only *Days of Rage*, with its unadulterated representation of the oppression, struggles, experience, and dreams of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, spawned charges of "propaganda" and calls for censorship.

In addition to the great number of programs offering Jewish or Israeli perspectives, most PBS stations have aired *Heritage: Civilization of the Jews*, a nine-part series on Jewish history—including the founding of the State of Israel, *at least twice* in the past three years. Most stations also offered a three-part, companion series called *Heritage Conversations with Bill Moyers*, which featured Jewish scholars and religious leaders.

Other notable programs on Israeli or Jewish issues included the April 1989 broadcast of *A Refusenik Diary* the story of a Soviet Jewish couple who emigrated to Israel; a 1988 *Frontline* program on conflicts between American Blacks and Jews; and the 1987 program *The Deadly Game of Nations*, a commentary by journalist Gwynne Dyer on Israel's "struggle" for national security.

Two *Frontline* programs critically analyzed Israeli policies. "Israel—The Covert Connection," aired last May, examined Israeli arms sales around the world, and "Israel—The Price of Victory," broadcast in June 1987, looked at what Israel had become 20 years after "the Six Day War."

In contrast, no PBS programs have focused on Palestinian history or culture, and only a few have tried to provide a platform for Palestinian views of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The May 1989 program *Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in the Promised Land*, the 1988 broadcast of *Mideast Dialogue: Highlights from "Nightline" in the Holy Land*, and the 1986 documentary *Flashpoint: Israel and the Palestinians* tried to reflect "both sides" of the conflict.

Only three programs, including *Days of Rage*, appear to be largely "Palestinian" in approach or content. Last April's *Letter from Palestine* documentary examined the challenges Palestinian doctors face in trying to treat patients with intifada-related injuries. The 1985 program *Are you Listening?—Palestinians* featured interviews with Palestinians in the diaspora and expressed their dreams of a homeland.

Other programs seemed to represent strong, negative views of Palestinians. An *American Interests* program aired last January asked the question, "Terrorist or Peace-Maker: Is

Yasir Arafat the Key to Middle East Peace?" Another *American Interests* program, aired in 1988, asked, "Will Riots Force an Answer to the Palestine Question?"

Finally, PBS's *MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour* and other current affairs programs have presented frequent reports on the Arab-Israeli conflict and various efforts toward peace, particularly since the beginning of the intifada. But while such programs have broadcast nine interviews with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir or other top Israeli officials since 1987, they have interviewed PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat only once—and that was last April. Jordan's King Hussein was also interviewed once this year, and an interview with expelled Palestinian activist Mubarak Awad was aired in 1988.

Asked to comment on the apparent discrepancy between the number of Israeli- or Jewish-centered programs and those reflecting an Arab or Palestinian perspective, Barry Chase, vice president for programming at PBS, responded that he did not "know that it [would be] fair" to draw such a conclusion from the list of PBS programs. "You can't really draw a one-to-one relationship between programs on Jewish history, on the one hand, and programs on current events, on the other," Chase said. "It's not just a quantitative measure; you have to talk about television with a qualitative measure."

According to Chase, any reader of the PBS list would draw conclusions that reinforced his or her *a priori* perspective. "Jewish groups," for example, look at the list and find very little programming on "the current struggle," Chase said. "The Zionist groups that objected [to *Days of Rage*], had a long list of programs and things they felt were anti-Israel. They find the field uneven and leaning away from them," Chase added.

In the programming of Arab-Israeli issues, there was almost complete dominance of Israeli- and Jewish-centered views.

Chase also declined to see significance in the numbers of interviews with Israeli and Arab or Palestinian officials. "I would doubt that you would find the *[NewsHour]* out of balance at all," he said. "Balance is their religion." According to Chase, the greater number of interviews with Israeli officials merely reflects politics and circumstances. "Generally *MacNeil-Lehrer* leans heavily toward interviewing officials of governments. But in this case there is no government on the other [Palestinian] side. And they usually interview people when they come to visit, and Palestinians are not allowed to visit—and that has nothing to do with public broadcasting," Chase said.

PBS's primary goal in current affairs programming is "diversity," Chase said. "Our only ideological goal is this: to provide as level and open a playing field as possible, as long as points of view are presented responsibly."

Then why the preponderance of Israeli- and Jewish-centered programming? According to Chase and Cathy Lykes, assistant director of business affairs for PBS programming, the primary programming impetus comes from producers. Film producers present program proposals to PBS, which are then evaluated by PBS executives according to subject matter, the producer's credentials, recent programming, and time constraints. According to Chase, PBS evaluates "hundreds" of such proposals each year.

PBS officials offer encouragement, usually in letter form, to only a small percentage of producers each year. The producers are then responsible for going to private foundations, corporations, individuals, and, in some cases, local PBS stations, to get their programs funded. Once a program is produced, PBS evaluates the finished product for quality and news value, and then accepts or rejects it for PBS broadcast.

"This is not a scientifically describable process," Chase admits. "Human judgment is involved."

Once a program is cleared on technical and journalistic grounds, PBS officials evaluate its funding sources, Lykes said. This process is more systematic, with a 47-page set of guidelines to direct it. The guidelines are designed to maintain a "free and independent" and noncommercial broadcast system and to ensure that funders do not exercise editorial control over public programming. According to the guidelines, funders may suggest program themes, ideas, and subjects, but they may not influence how the subject is treated or presented.

PANELISTS DISCUSSING THE *DAYS OF RAGE: THE YOUNG PALESTINIANS* AFTER ITS AIRING. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: ALAN KEYES, SEYMOUR REICH, RICHARD MURPHY, HODDING CARTER, WALTER RUBY, AND DR. JAMES ZOGBY.

❖

PHOTO: COURTESY OF PBS

In addition, funders with a "clear and direct connection" with a current affair or controversial issue are unacceptable. The guidelines direct programming directors to avoid accepting program funders that would create even the *perception* of a corporate influence on editorial content. According to an example cited in the guidelines, "A Jewish social welfare organization could not fund a documentary on a leading Nazi official."

Yet, many of the Israeli- or Jewish-centered productions, such as *Heritage: Civilization of the Jews* received funding from Jewish individuals and foundations. There was no outcry at the time that the series' perspective was swayed by its funders, and PBS did not see the source of funds for this series as conflicting with its guidelines. However, *Days of Rage* was accused—and later exonerated by a special PBS investigation—of receiving funding from Arab groups which imposed their own message.

Despite PBS attempts to be scrupulous in their regulation of journalistic integrity, editorial content, and funding sources, some media analysts feel that PBS is beholden to special interests. A plan developed by the Working Group for Public Broadcasting is designed to end corporate and federal funding of PBS.

The plan calls for the federal government to assess a 2 percent levy on imports and factory sales of televisions, video casette recorders, radios, and other consumer appliances. Proponents of the plan estimate that the tax would generate more than $600 million a year, which would then be used to finance public broadcasting. The proposal, developed by a small group of media reformers, has yet to find a sponsor in Congress.

But very few television critics or media analysts have taken a close look at PBS programming and how it is funded. Walter Ruby, New York correspondent for the *Jerusalem Post*, was one of the post-documentary panelists who criticized *Days of Rage*. Speaking to *The Return*, Ruby described *Days of Rage* as a "powerful and compelling work," but said he was bothered by its historiography, "unrepresentative" Israeli views, and the fact that it "appears to have been paid for largely with Arab money."

But Franklin-Trout and PBS executives have repeatedly denied charges of Arab funding for the program. And Ruby admits that he's seen very little other PBS programming.

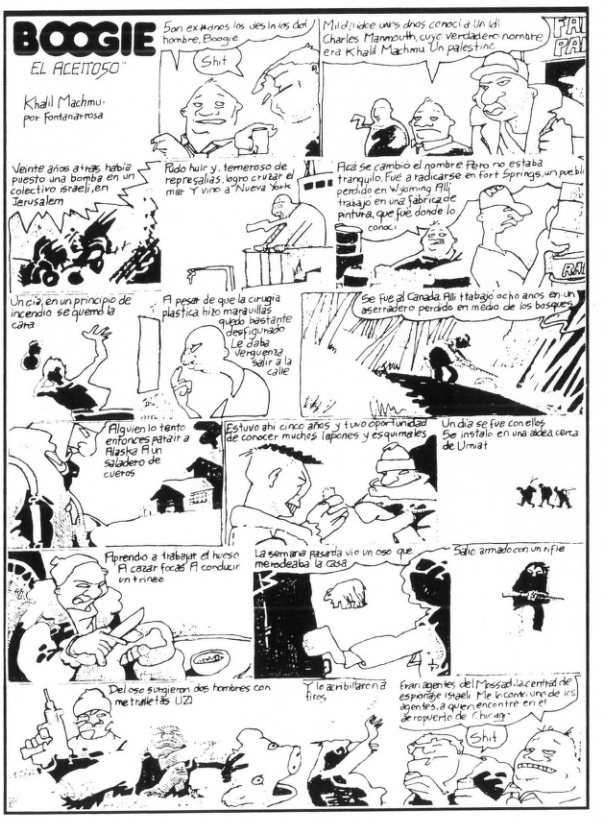
If anything, PBS programming of Arab-Israeli issues seems to reflect the same pro-Israeli bias demonstrated by the private, mainstream media in the United States. Scott Pendleton, writing about the *Days of Rage* controversy in the *Christian Science Monitor* on September 5, said, "If 'wrapping' is the way to redress controversy, then *Intifada: The Palestinians and Israel*," should be likewise 'wrapped' with a documentary on the media power of the Israeli lobby." ❖

Vicki Kemper, a freelance journalist in Washington, D.C., has written extensively on the intifada and on media issues.

CHASED OUT OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND WEST GERMANY, THE MOSSAD MOVES ITS EUROPEAN HOME TO BELGIUM

BY JANE HUNTER

The cartoon traces the wanderings of Palestinian "Khalil Machmu," who fled to the United States to escape reprisals for a kibbutz bombing in which he had been involved 20 years ago. His face disfigured in an industrial accident in Wyoming, Khalil Machmu, now "Charles Manmouth," eventually finds himself living with native Alaskans, who teach him bone carving. One day he goes out to confront a bear stalking their cabin. A seam in the bear's back opens and out pop two Uzi-toting Mossad agents. ❖ The cartoon in the Mexican magazine *El Proceso* attests to the widespread reputation of


BOOGIE
EL ACEITOSO"
Khalil Machmu
por Fontenatrosa
Son exitosos los desinios del hombre, Boogie
Shit
Mildiuke unos dnos conocí a Un tal Charles Manmouth, cuyo verdadero nombre era Khalil Machmu Un palestino
Veinte años atrás, había puesto una bomba en un colectivo israelí, en Jerusalem
Pudo huir y, temeroso de represalias, logro cruzar el mar Y vino a Nueva York
Ficá se cambio el nombre Pero no estaba tranquilo. Fué a radicarse en Fort Springs, un pueblo perdido en Wyoming Allí trabajo en una fábrica de pintura, que fué donde lo conocí
Un día, en un principio de incendio se quemó la casa
A pesar de que la cirugía plástica hizo maravillas quedo bastante desfigurado Le daba vergüenza salir a la calle
Se fue al Canadá Allí trabajo ocho años en un aserradero perdido en medio de los bosques
Alguien lo tentó entonces para ir a Alaska A un saladero de cueros
Estuvo ahí cinco años y tuvo oportunidad de conocer muchos lapones y esquimales
Un día se fue con ellos Se instaló en una aldea cerca de Umiat
Aprendió a trabajar el hueso A cazar focas A conducir un trineo
La semana pasada vio un oso que merodeaba la casa
Salió armado con un rifle
Del oso surgieron dos hombres con metralletas UZI
Y le acribillaron a tiros
Eran agentes del Mossad, la central de espionaje israelí Mi le contó uno de los agentes, a quien encontró en el aeropuerto de Chicago
Shit

CARTOON THAT APPEARED RECENTLY IN THE MEXICAN MAGAZINE *EL PROCESO* ILLUSTRATES THE MOSSAD'S REPUTATION—ALWAYS ABLE TO GET ITS MAN.

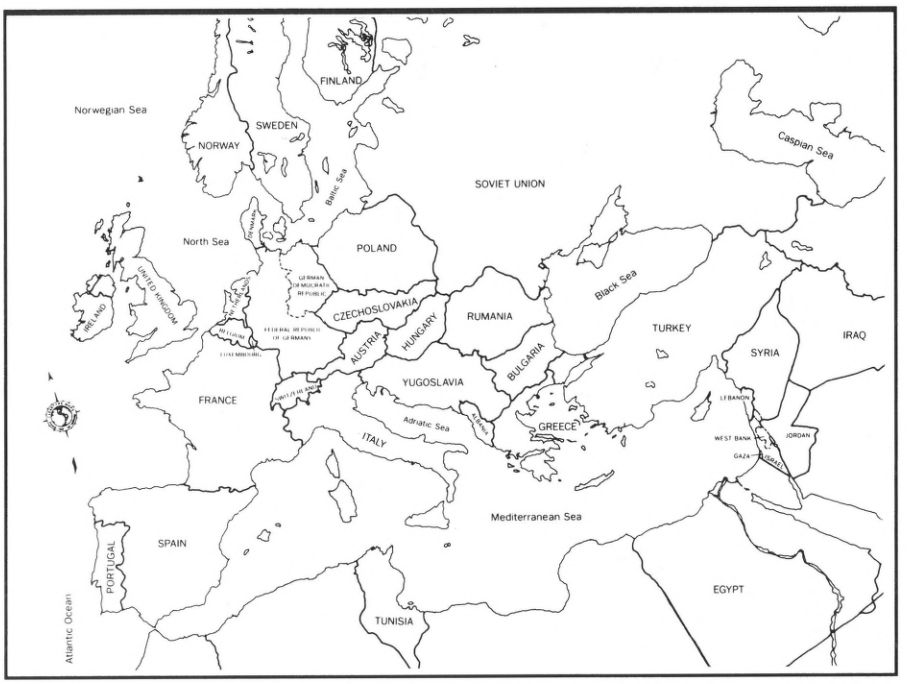
❖

Israel's external intelligence agency, the Mossad, as an implacable avenging force. The Mossad's ability to always get its man is a major part of the mythology that has come to surround the agency. And the Mossad does not shrink from its admirers' accolades as the world's premier intelligence service

Yet, its fabled (some say overstated) ability to supply Western powers with otherwise unavailable intelligence is only one aspect of the Mossad. On the other hand, the means the Mossad employs in its eternal hunt for enemies, and in some of its other operations, are making the agency increasingly unwelcome in Europe.

The Mossad's presence in Europe is the result of a division of labor that has evolved over the years between it and Israel's military intelligence organization, whose acronym is AMAN. AMAN, according to a 1979 CIA report on Israeli intelligence operations (seized when the Revolutionary Guard took over the U.S. embassy in Tehran), is responsible for producing assessments of Arab military strength, while—*the principal function of [the] Mossad is to conduct secret operations against the Arab nations and their official representatives and installations throughout the world, particularly in Western Europe and the United States.*

Of course, the Mossad is also active in numerous countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Governments on those continents might be just as outraged by its exploits—such as the 1985 and 1988 attacks on the PLO leadership in Tunisia—as Western powers are, but, beyond protesting, there is little that small countries can do.



***THE RETURN* MAP**

A powerful Western country, on the other hand, can retaliate with measures ranging from embarrassing Israel to actually impeding the work of its operatives. The rules under which intelligence agencies operate in friendly foreign countries are as shadowy as everything else about the clandestine trade. Generally, it is expected that the foreign agency will keep its local counterpart informed about its activities. That the rules have been broken only becomes known when a government wishes to embarrass the transgressor, usually through leaks to the press.

In the past, the Mossad's frequent assassinations of Palestinians put it under the spotlight in Europe. Although a number of Palestinian leaders have been killed in Athens—it is presumed by Israeli agents—over the past year, lately, it is an assortment of other Mossad transgressions that have drawn European ire.

Most recently the Mossad has run afoul of French authorities. France was not pleased this spring to discover that a joint Mossad-South African operation had spread from its focal point, British-ruled Northern Ireland, to Paris, where South African "diplomats" were caught receiving technology for the British Blowpipe missile from Protestant extremists. As far as is known, no Israeli operatives were expelled from France, as the South African "diplomats" were. But Paris took the operation seriously, as Israel and South Africa were supplying the extremists with weapons in exchange for the technology.

Infuriated by Israel's engineering of the strident protests with which the French Jewish community greeted the visit of Palestinian President and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in April, French President François Mitterrand retaliated by easing out Charles Saltzmann, a close

presidential adviser of eight years' standing. According to the Paris-based *Intelligence Newsletter*, Saltzmann "helped set up many intelligence operations in France." *Intelligence Newsletter* also reported that Mossad networks in France were "cleaned up."

Although France has now moved to repair its relations with Israel—as current chair of the European Community, Paris wants to be positioned to influence the Palestinian-Israeli peace process—the Mossad no longer considers Paris "a friendly environment," the *Intelligence Newsletter* reported.

If France is not friendly, Britain is decidedly hostile. Israel's role in the Blowpipe missile affair resulted in the Mossad being ordered out of the country, according to *Intelligence Newsletter*. The agency had only recently been allowed to resume operations in Britain, following its highly publicized expulsion in June 1988. That ejection came after it was discovered that two of the Mossad's Palestinian agents were used in an apparent effort to foment conflict among Palestinian groups in Britain. The two agents were suspects in the murder of Palestinian cartoonist Ali Al-Adhami. The Mossad was using one of those agents to befriend a third suspect in the murder, Ismail Sowan, in whose house British authorities discovered a cache of weapons. When they learned that the Mossad had known for some time about Sowan's weapons but had not informed local authorities, the British were livid.

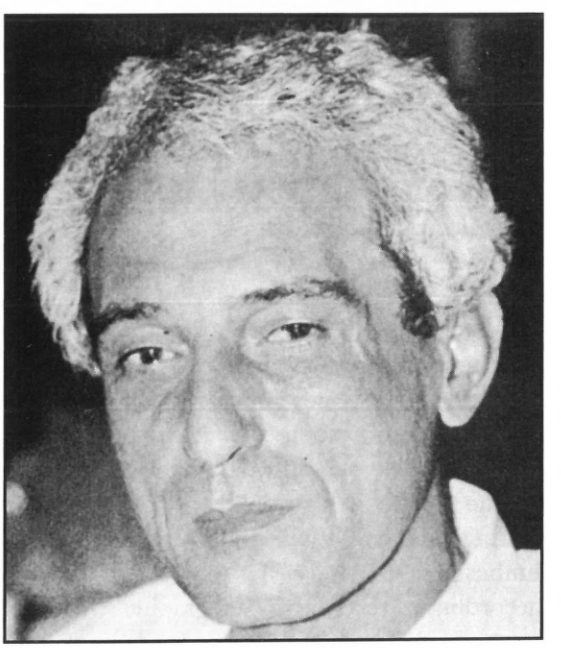
This was not the first time the Mossad had abused British hospitality. In 1986, one of its agents lured former nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu away from London, where he had been relating details about Israel's secret nuclear weapons factory in Dimona to the *Sunday Times*. When Vanunu and his Mossad seductress reached Rome, other Mossad operatives drugged and chained him and took him to Israel to stand trial.

In 1984, British authorities opened two crates of "diplomatic" luggage at the airport and found three Mossad agents with a former Nigerian minister, Umaru Dikko, nicely anesthetized and ready for delivery to Nigeria, where authorities wanted to put Dikko on trial. Those three Mossad men are still in jail.

And then there was the matter of the 10 forged British passports, found in 1987 in a telephone booth in Munich, West Germany. For three months, Israel dismissed the matter as "esoteric," and ignored Britain's requests for a full apology and a pledge not to use forged British passports again.

It is possible that Britain was also irked by the disclosure of former Mossad officer Aharon Moshel. In his memoirs, published in West Germany this spring, Moshel related that the Mossad ordered him to find the legendary British spy Kim Philby and warn him that British intelligence had learned he was working for the Soviet Union and were about to arrest him. Philby escaped to the USSR, where he served as an ongoing embarrassment to British intelligence until his death last year.

After its 1988 expulsion from Britain, there were reports that the Mossad was setting up shop in West Germany. This would have been logical, as the Mossad had worked closely with West German intelligence from the mid-1960s through the early 1980s (a period during which West German intelligence was headed by and staffed with numerous former Nazis). The intelligence relationship ebbed when West Germany began to develop significant trading links with Arab



ALI AL-ADHAMI (NAJI ALI), THE PROMINENT PALESTINIAN CARTOONIST BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED BY ISRAEL'S MOSSAD IN LONDON.

❖

governments, according to a 1981 article in *The Middle East*, a London-based magazine. However, it has been replaced by a growing arms sales relationship.

In any event, it turned out that the Mossad did not establish new roots in West Germany, possibly because the Germans were unhappy about the passport incident. At about the same time that the Mossad was reported to be establishing itself in West Germany, news reports in that country disclosed that the Mossad had intended to use the forged British passports for an operation involving the kidnapping of West German scientists it believed were planning to work on Pakistan's nuclear weapons program.

Reports also surfaced last year that the Mossad had targeted Western technicians working on the Condor missile, a joint project of Egypt, Iraq, and Argentina. West German nationals would be at special risk, as a number of West German companies are believed to be working on various aspects of the project. A car bombing in Cairo last fall was a warning from the Mossad to foreign technicians, according to the London paper, *The Independent*.

Now, *Intelligence Newsletter* has reported that Israel is reconstituting its European intelligence operations in Belgium, making a fresh start with a new center in Brussels. In apparent corroboration of that report came an article published late August by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, stating that Israel will build a new embassy in Brussels. Its purpose, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, is to deal "exclusively" with legal and technical matters connected with the elimination of European Community trade barriers in 1992.

But Israel already has an embassy in Brussels, which takes care of its business with Belgium, Luxembourg, and the European Community. It would seem that a second mission would more logically be situated in Strasbourg, France, where the European Parliament meets. That increasingly powerful body must approve Israel's terms of trade with the European Community, and it has already held up a set of agreements, stymieing Israeli trade for a considerable part of 1988.

Whereas the $1 million price tag Jewish Telegraphic Agency gives for the new embassy seems quite low, the construction of a new building would allow for the installation of the state-of-the-art communications and security equipment needed for covert operations. A further indication that the new Brussels facility will be an espionage center is the appointment of Avi Primor as ambassador to the new mission. Primor is believed to be a high-ranking intelligence officer, according to *Intelligence Newsletter*.

Foreign Ministry Director-General Reuven Merhav, who traveled to Brussels in August to discuss the changes with the embassy staff, was a Mossad officer until last year. His assignment in Hong Kong, which included involvement in Israel's important military sales relationship with China, suggests that he held a senior rank in the organization. Merhav, incidentally, is not the first Mossad officer to occupy the director's chair at the foreign ministry; David Kimche, who was director-general during the Iran-contra affair, came to the foreign ministry from a long career with the Mossad.

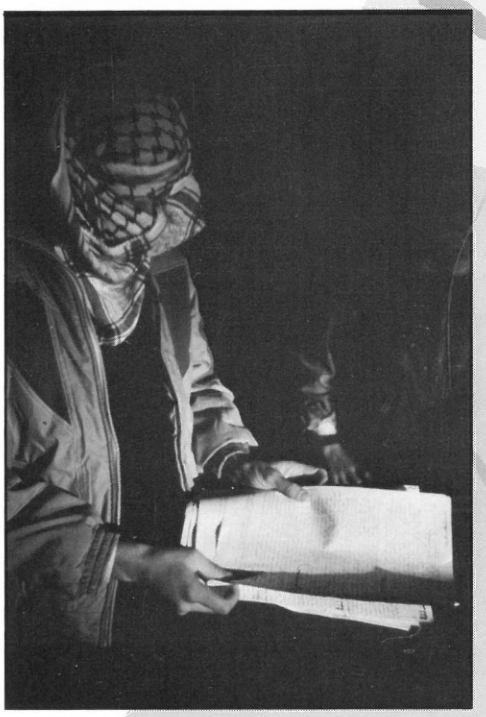
The CIA's 1979 report noted that "Many senior [Israeli] diplomats are former intelligence officers" and that "they serve as valuable auxiliaries to their covert colleagues, whose diplomatic cover is diligently sustained by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs."

In August, it was reported that someone had broken into the Isbel travel agency, a Brussels business specializing in trips to Israel and Zaire, and had stolen computer disks containing details of trips made over the last three months by Israeli "diplomats" based in Brussels.

The actual merits of the Mossad's choice of Brussels will only be proven in time. Yet, it seems the organization has made a clever choice. Belgium's relations with Israel are quite good, and it has in the past allowed airlines used for Israeli operations to maintain offices in Brussels. Belgium is neither a powerful country nor a dynamic player on the world scene. As the European Community "capital" its own identity is likely to be increasingly submerged in an integrated Europe. However, there is also the possibility Belgium could turn to its EC partners for help in controlling the Mossad, should the agency—once again—begin abusing its host's hospitality. ❖

Jane Hunter is the editor of the monthly publication Israeli Foreign Affairs.

ARE YOU GETTING THE FULL COVERAGE ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION?



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